# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

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## Selections.

### GOV. WASHBURN AND THE BURNS CASE.

"WE would suggest to some of our cotemporaries, who have the means, the propriety and necessity of placing all the acts of Gov. Washburn, in relation to the Burns business, in clear light before the people. Many have an idea that, either by an official act, or by his presence and approbation, he gave 'aid and comfort' to Mayor Smith, and other more immediate actors, in the disgraceful scene, when the business of Boston was suspended, the militia turned out, and the streets of Boston blockaded, to aid in sending one poor fugitive back to slavery."—*Haverhill Gazette.*

This invitation of the Haverhill *Gazette* ought not to stand without notice. It is quite true that many have the idea that Gov. Washburn gave aid and comfort to Mayor Smith, and the other actors in that "scene," which the Haverhill *Gazette* justly calls "*disgraceful,*" and it is equally and very unhappily true that the people who entertain that "idea" are not mistaken.

Governor Washburn was in the city of Boston during some of the days while Anthony Burns lay in the Court-house of the County of Suffolk, which was unlawfully turned into a slave-jail, while a portion of the militia of the Commonwealth were acting substantially as the body-guard of the man-hunters, and while the process of the Commonwealth, to which every person on its soil is by law entitled, was defied and spurned by the Marshal of the United States, in whose service, for all practical purposes, that same militia were engaged, and by whom, we understand, they were paid. Gov. Washburn was entreated to interpose, and to see that the laws of Massachusetts were executed by his own inferior executive officers; to withdraw the aid of Massachusetts from the support she was then actually and in the most powerful way giving to the slave-hunt; and to exert all his powers, as the supreme executive magistrate of the Commonwealth and commander-in-chief of the militia, to protect the people and maintain the laws.

Governor Washburn was in Boston on the day—the very day—when Burns was dragged through the streets of the city, a sacrifice to slavery; heard the ribald songs which arose from some of the squads of the soldiery into whose power Mayor Smith committed the city; saw the unlawful and shameful acts of which the Haverhill *Gazette* so well complains; was repeatedly urged to use his constitutional powers to save the Commonwealth from infamy, and prevent the triumph of violence over the peaceful institutions of the law. *But Gov. Washburn did not interfere, did nothing;* and thus, he *did*, by his "*presence,*" and therefore by his implied "*approbation,*" effectually do what the Haverhill *Gazette* condemns—"*he gave aid and comfort*" to those who more immediately and openly perpetrated the wrong, permitted the "*tool*" of slave-hunters to accomplish his work, and voluntarily, for the time, as the most efficient "aid" he could render in the work, became "*a cypher.*" He did more: At some of the subsequent festive meetings at which, in mirth and hilarity, the Mayor and the military, and their associates in the slave-hunt, came together to congratulate each other, Governor Washburn appeared among them, and joined in the common laudation of the citizen soldiery, of their prompt obedience to the order which called them out; talked of the necessity in our government of these military organizations; for the proof of which necessity he referred, in direct terms, to the incidents of that very week; referred to the fact that the Mayor had called for the troops; and remarked that the call had been responded to *with a spirit and patriotism just as the public has a right to expect.* He took especial pains to deny his having any sympathy with those whom he alleged had been "exciting and inflaming the public to resistance." But, concerning neither Mayor nor Military had he one word to say—unless of commendation and approval. And that, too, speaking, officially, as Governor and as commander-in-chief, from his own actual observation and notice of the events of which he spoke, and with the whole scene of Anthony Burns's enslavement, and of our city's degradation, in all their shameful *details*, fresh in his mind.

Now, for a moment, let us look to see what were the powers of Governor Washburn, which, in the hands of a governor and commander-in-chief determined to exert them, would have been sufficient to prevent the success of Mayor Smith's attempt at achieving immortal infamy, and would, at least, have prevented the most conspicuous and alarming piece of usurpation ever perpetrated in our vicinity, within the memory of the present generation. To say nothing of the influence the Governor might have exerted over the Sheriff and his deputies, and in putting both them and the military arm, as a part of the *posse comitatus*, into proper relation with each other, so that the State militia should not be found fighting against the State officers, we will simply consider the powers vested in the Governor, as commander-in-chief, by the use of which he could have prevented the outrages which were perpetrated under the orders of Mayor Smith and Gen. Edmands.

By the 7th Art. of the 2d Chapter of the Constitution, the Governor is made commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State, with full power to "*govern*" them, to "*lead and conduct them,*" under all the circumstances, and in all the cases, in which the military power may be put in motion; and the article concludes with a sweeping clause, "that the Governor be entrusted with all these and other powers, incident to the offices of captain-general and commander-in-chief," with the only restriction that they shall be used agreeably to the constitution and the laws.

Now, the Mayor, having called out the militia companies (which he ought not, in deference to the Governor, even to do, save in the absence of the Governor, he being, under the title of commander-in-chief, the officer first designated by law to perform such a duty), the whole force and effect of his precept, calling them out, was exhausted, the moment the militia appeared according to the precept. When arrived at their post, they are, in the language of the law, "*to aid the civil authority in suppressing such violence* [i. e. the violence referred to by the precept] *and supporting the laws.*"

They are not to aid the civil authority, nor anybody, in breaking the laws, but in supporting them, and the Governor, as at once the chief civil and the chief military officer of the Commonwealth, if he had chosen to appear on the scene of parade, might have taken them under his own immediate command; and, in the words of the constitution, in fact, *led, conducted* and *governed* them, and using his appropriate powers, "*incident to the offices of Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief,*" prevented their actually violating the laws and the private rights of the people, might put them right and keep them right, and, as a civil officer, might have used their aid in whatsoever service of the law, whether in "suppressing violence" or "supporting the laws," the exigency of the case might have required. Had Gov. Washburn done this, the criticism to which the *Gazette* alludes would never have been made. But he chose to permit the Mayor—not in anywise being ignorant of the facts, because they transpired before his very eyes—he chose to permit the Mayor and the General, and the "other more immediate actors in this disgraceful scene," to do their work, and in their own way.

That he did thus give "aid and comfort" to the tools of a slave-hunt, the Haverhill *Gazette*, in common with ourselves, must regret. But, we have felt it incumbent upon us to accept the invitation of a cotemporary and endeavour to "place all the acts of Governor Washburn, in relation to the Burns business, in a clear light before the people."

And now, after all, the point which we have only intimated, as yet, is that on which we the most strongly feel. The bold, bad misrule which delivered up our streets to martial law, was a fact so open and insolent, bearing on its face such an evident menace against free government itself—was so disgusting to a great body of citizens, and was so inconvenient to all—that we can contemplate the whole affair as a thing which carries its cure along with its bane. That experiment will not easily be repeated—after the one experience, after the full discussion it has elicited, and especially after our next charter election.

But, *the neglect of the Governor to cause the process of personal replevin to be served*, and his permission of the employment of the State troops in such a way that they were among the most efficient instruments in preventing its service, was an injury, of which the immediate force was felt only by the poor, uninfluential, humble, coloured man, in whose fate the mass of the people do not perceive that any personal interests of their own are involved. The liberties of a people never fall at a single blow. Not even the bloodiest and longest war by itself can break them down, when directly waged against them. Tyranny succeeds only after the sentiment of the people, the conscious dignity of the people, the love and zeal for liberty, and their faith in their own cause have been slowly and cautiously undermined.

This was one of those occurrences which tend to accustom the popular mind to contemplate the surrender of principles and the destruction of most sacred rights. Like moral ruin, insidiously beginning in a child, with seducing him into slight and venial faults, and working its cautious way along, until Satan has transformed him into one of his own, so do such offences against political society, beginning with injustice to one, while pretending to guard the peace of the many, portend the ruin of the State. Do not talk to us of good reasons why the evil should be permitted. Talk not of *this case* or of *this once.* The more specious the reason and the better the excuse; the more need that the Governor should have been a man not easily deceived by fallacies, and incapable of being cheated out of his allegiance to principles.

The matter lay in a nut-shell. The writ of personal replevin is a writ of right. It is the most fit and competent process for the purpose of testing the right of the citizen to his personal liberty when called in question. No *fugitive slave* act could take away the *freeman's* right to his freeman's trial. For, every man in Massachusetts is, by all presumptions of law, *free* until he is proved to be a slave, and he is, therefore, until then, entitled to be treated as free.

The Sheriff, or the Coroner, ought to serve the writ. The Marshal was bound to submit to its service. But, he declared he would not submit. And the officers of the State were feeble. The Governor would not back them up. The whole military power of the State was against them. The United States, from the President himself down to the servants at the Custom House, were active in every nerve, putting every means into operation to strengthen the marshal and crush the citizen who was enveloped by its power. *Slavery* found no servant in its train at fault. No, not one.

But, *Freedom*, entitled to have found a champion in the person of the Governor of Massachusetts, who would have put himself at the head of his own militia, and strengthened the arms and the hearts of his ministerial officers, and maintained the right, was doomed to see the Mayor of Boston seconding the utmost exertions of the President of the United States, and the Governor of Massachusetts passively putting Massachusetts herself to be used as the principal instrumentality in the service. Whether we contemplate the Judge of Probate, the Mayor, or the Governor, or the General of Brigade, we find no words rising in our mind as so fit to express the probable sentiments of them all as those shouted out so frequently by the soldiers who helped them,

"Oh, carry me back to Old Virginny."

That they had no feeling to keep them here, must be plain, when all they did was to degrade our Commonwealth to the purposes of a Virginia slave-hunt.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

### THE DANGER AND THE REMEDY.

AT Washington it is regarded as perfectly clear that the Union of the States is more in danger at the present moment than at any time before. Just now the danger proceeds not from the South, but from the North; the North is in a flame of resentment; the agitation of the slavery question is revived in more than its original vehemence. In short, the Union is more than ever in danger, and more than ever in need of being saved. The Washington *Union* of yesterday morning, expressing, no doubt, the views of the Administration, says:

"A great deal has been written about the doctrine of secession and the danger of disunion. Many grave apprehensions have been excited by previous discussions upon this doctrine. But the most formidable movement yet made in favour of the doctrine of disunion is that now progressing in the free States. While the South is perfectly quiescent—asking only that its rights shall be preserved—the North, under the lead of the Abolition agitators, who have taken entire possession of one of the great parties of the free States, is now advocating and urging a project which, if successful, would certainly lead to a severance of the Union. This project contemplates the combination of the people of the North into a great sectional party against the South. To this end all other questions are made to yield. No man is, if possible, to be elected to any office who is not the sworn foe of the South, or the bound and covenanted advocate of Abolitionism. It would be madness to attempt to conceal from ourselves that this organization has not retrograded. Every day convinces us that it is on the increase. We are not without a high and a prayerful hope, it is true—a patriotic confidence, growing out of a fervent affection for the tradition and realities of the Union—that the conservative element is not yet extinct in the northern States; but is it not true that traitors, and knaves, and hypocrites, like Greeley, and Sumner, and Gillette—is it not true that infidel preachers, like Phillips, contemners of law, like Beecher, and inciters to mob violence, like Parker, are at this moment wielding a fearful influence over the northern mind? Is it not true that the whole Whig party of the free States has been paralyzed and terrified by these influences, until there is scarcely a living soul in that party that has nerve enough to say that the South is entitled to any other consideration than that which the conqueror yields to his captive? Is it not true that when a northern Democrat raises his voice—aye, when he raises his voice in favour of a beleagured Constitution even—he is hunted like a wild beast, his character traduced, his name stained with calumny, his very manhood ridiculed and denied, until, at last, ambitious and timid men seek elevation and power by catering to a sentiment which they fear to resist? Is it not true that the pulpits of the free States ring with anathemas against the people and the institutions of the South—that maddened mobs threaten the lives of American senators, and prevent the freedom of speech, and almost of the press, in cities boasting of their especial progress and liberty? We must not be told that we are painting a picture from which the curtain should not be raised. We reply that the state of the facts requires it, and that he is craven who in such emergencies dares not speak the truth."

This is not the state of things which the same organ of the Administration promised us as the effect of passing the Nebraska bill. That bill, we were told by its champions, was to settle forever the controversy respecting slavery, and quiet forever the agitation which had so often convulsed the country. As soon as the bill could be passed, we were told again and again, all was to be peace and silence.

Six or eight weeks after passing this bill, and while everybody was looking for the calm so confidently promised, the same politicians come forward and tell us, with a despairing voice, that the storm is raging more furiously than before, and that, if the gale continues, the American Union must go to wreck. So violent is the tempest that the pious editor of the Washington print from which we have quoted becomes, as he says, "prayerful," that is to say, falls on his knees and performs his devotions.

We are edified by this, and so we hope are our readers; but what shall we think of the conduct of the men who have obstinately steered the ship of State into these stormy latitudes? They were warned, again and again, that if they persisted in forcing the Nebraska bill upon the country, it would bring back the old controversy with new violence, that it would alienate the North from the South, destroy good will and confidence between them, and, in short, do more to set the two parts of the Union at variance than any measure of the government since the birth of our confederacy. They persisted, however, and now with a face of astonishment they acknowledge that every word of these warnings was true. What a confession is this of fool-hardy obstinacy, want of foresight, and the absence of every essential quality of statesmanship!

But now that the adversaries of the Nebraska bill are admitted to have been right in their predictions, what is the remedy? If the enmity it has awakened between the North and the South be perilous to the continuance of our Union, as all violent quarrels between the slave States and the free must be, in a greater or less measure, what shall be done to soften the feeling from which the danger arises? The answer is obvious. The North has been wronged, or imagines itself wronged, and nothing will satisfy it but redress of the injury. If those who dictate the opinions expressed in the Washington newspaper from which we have quoted really wish to put an end to the state of feeling at the North, which they pretend to deplore, let them take away the cause. Instead of these pusillanimous and childish lamentations, let us have a frank proposal to do justice to the North. Prohibit slavery in the territories, and the tempest will subside in a moment.

When the slave States were in a state of excitement and talked of secession, what was done by our government to appease them? Eminent statesmen, both at the South and the North, declared that the Union of the States was on the verge of dissolution; they came together and agreed that slavery should be permitted in Utah and New Mexico, and that the Fugitive Slave law should be passed. Now the North is more deeply and passionately moved than the South then was, and the organ of the Administration at Washington declares that our confederacy is in far greater danger. Let the same method be tried. Repeal the permission of slavery in the territories, abrogate the Fugitive Slave law, and we will engage that the Union shall be saved. The people will applaud and the pulpits will be quiet.

While we have been constantly legislating for these twenty years past to satisfy the South, we seem to have become possessed with the fancy that nothing is ever to be done, in any case, to satisfy the North. The politicians at Washington are evidently alarmed, but they are unwilling to look at the true cure of the evil. Let us take advantage of this alarm and irresolution, and, with all the force of that public opinion which they confess to be so powerful and so irresistible, crowd them to the point which they are struggling to avoid.—*Eve. Post.*

### *VERMONT* VERSUS *VIRGINIA.*

I MAKE the comparison of Vermont and Virginia, at the present time, because the comparison will show some interesting statistics of both States, and because it exhibits most clearly the difference between a State of intelligent freemen and one which is cursed with the blighting influences of slavery.

Nature has done everything for Virginia—for Vermont she has done comparatively nothing; Virginia, with the exception of the Eastern section, has the finest climate in the world—Vermont has cold and frosts at least eight months in the year; Virginia is almost wholly a farming State from the want of intelligence and enterprise of her people—Vermont is a farming State from necessity; Virginia has a natural soil which nothing but slave labour could ever impoverish—Vermont has a soil which nothing but free labour could possibly live upon; Virginia has eight months in the year for the growth of her harvests—Vermont has only four; Virginia has inexhaustible mines of gold, iron, coal and salt—Vermont is *comparatively* destitute of mineral wealth; Virginia has excellent facilities for foreign commerce—Vermont has none; Virginia has a great extent of inland navigation—Vermont has none; Virginia has 61,000 square miles of territory—Vermont has 8,000; the population of Virginia is 1,421,661, or four and a half times that of Vermont, which is 314,120; the average decennial increase of the population of Virginia, from 1780 to 1850, has been 11.39 per cent.—that of Vermont has been 26.78 per cent.; Virginia has 23 inhabitants to the square mile—Vermont has 39.

*In proportion to her population*, Vermont has
Twice as many Colleges as Virginia.
One half more College students.
Nearly seven times as many Public School scholars.
More than four times as many Public Schools.
Nearly twice as many Academies and Private Schools.
Three and a half times as many pupils in the same.
Four times as many attending school during the year.

But look at the number of adults who cannot read and write. The whole *Free Population* of Virginia, *over 20 years of age*, is 438,966. Of this number, there are 87,383 *Native American Adults* who cannot read and write, or *one in five!*

The whole *Free Population* of Vermont, *over 20 years of age*, is 167,787. Of this number, there are 616 *Native American Adults* who cannot read and write, or *one in two hundred and seventy-two.* This includes the Free Blacks. Perhaps Virginia may complain of this. We will omit them, and the result will be, *Free White* Population of Virginia, over 20 years of age, 413,428; *White Native American Adults*, who cannot read and write, 75,868, or *one in five and a half!*

*Free White* population of Vermont, over 20 years of age, 167,376; *White Native American* adults, who cannot read and write, 565, or *one in two hundred and ninety-six.*

Let us compare the Free Black Adults of Vermont with the Native American white citizens of Virginia.

Free *Black* adults in Vermont who cannot read and write, one in eight. Free *White* adults in Virginia who cannot read and write, one in five and a half. Even the "poor, miserable, free niggers" (as a Virginian calls them) in Vermont are ahead of the Native American white citizens of Virginia in point of intelligence.

It is no wonder that Yankee teachers find such a fertile field for their labours among the benighted inhabitants of the Old Dominion.

But the boast of Virginia is her agricultural interests; let us see how she compares with Vermont in that respect.

*First, of Farms:* Vermont has, *in proportion to her population*,
More acres of improved land than Virginia.
Her farms are worth much more.
Her farming tools are worth nearly twice as much, while Virginia has more than twice as much unimproved land as Vermont.

*Second, Live Stock:* Vermont has, *in proportion to her population*,
More horses than Virginia.
More than twice as many milch cows.
Two and a half times as many working oxen.
More of "Other Cattle."
More than three times as many sheep, and the value of her live stock, compared with that of Virginia, is as 5 to 3.

But Virginia has, *in proportion to her population*, twenty-two times as many asses and mules, and six times as many hogs, as Vermont.

Let us look at the *Produce* of the two States for one year. *In proportion to her population*, Vermont produces
Nearly twice as much rye as Virginia.
More oats.
More than fives times as much wool.
Seven times as many potatoes (of all kinds).
Seven times as much barley.
More than four times as much buckwheat.
Five times as much butter.
Ninety times as much cheese.
Ten and a half times as much hay.
One hundred and twelve times as many hops.
Twenty-three times as much sugar.
More honey and beeswax.
Eight times as much value of orchard products.
Virginia produces, *in proportion to her population*, more tobacco, peas and beans, flax, wheat, and corn, than Vermont.

Under the head of Literary Statistics, we find that, *in proportion to her population*, Vermont has
Nearly twice as many newspapers as Virginia.
Their circulation is two and a half times as much.
The number of copies printed annually is much more.
Also, that Vermont has, *in proportion to her population*,
Eight times as many public libraries.
Three times as many volumes in the same.

*Religious Statistics.*—Vermont has more churches, more seats in the churches, and nearly twice as much value of church property as Virginia, in proportion to her population. So much for the statistics of the two States.

It will be seen from all the preceding statistics that in everything relating to the education and intelligence of the people, Vermont is greatly superior to Virginia, while even in agricultural statistics, which are the boast of Virginia and for which her soil and climate are peculiarly adapted, Vermont is superior to the Old Dominion.—*Watchman and Reflector.*

### *THE 'TREAT LETTER.'*

As the late action of the American Board of Foreign Missions is just now attracting a good deal of attention, and is of itself important in its bearings upon the Slavery question, and as that action is based upon the 'Treat Letter,' so called, and without a reference to that is not easily understood, we lay a copy of that document before our readers. It is proper to explain that the Letter came before the Board at its meeting in 1848, and was referred to a Committee. That Committee reported that it met with their "cordial approbation," but recommended that the subject be left "for the present" in the hands of the Prudential Committee; and there it has remained ever since till it came again before the Board at its last meeting at Hartford, the necessity of action being pressed upon it by the recent Act of the Choctaw Council forbidding any slave, or children of slaves, to be taught in any of the schools. The resolutions of the Board, which we published last week, affirmed the principles of the 'Treat Letter.' And that is as follows:

MISSIONARY HOUSE, Boston, June 22, 1848.
*To the Members of the Choctaw Mission.*

DEAR BRETHREN: Your letter of March 31st was received on the 5th of May. It was my wish to lay it before the Prudential Committee, together with my own report on the relations of the Cherokee and Choctaw missions to the subject of slavery, at the earliest opportunity; but my ordinary duties have been so urgent, since I returned from the Indian country, and my health has been so poor, that I could not complete the necessary preparation till within the past four or five days. At our last Committee meeting, however, held on the 20th instant, the matter was taken into consideration; and I now sit down to give you the result.

Your kind expressions of attachment and confidence we most cordially and fully reciprocate. We love the Choctaw mission. Towards the older members, especially, those who have toiled faithfully and successfully for twenty-five or thirty years, we entertain feelings such as few missionaries ever have awakened in our hearts. It has given me the highest pleasure, as a humble individual, to bear testimony to the integrity and devotedness with which you have laboured, and the signal success with which God has crowned your efforts; and while life lasts, I shall cherish the remembrance of my brief sojourn among you.

But none will be more ready than yourselves to admit that errors of judgment may have occurred in the history of your mission. And in regard to the particular subject discussed in your letter, you will concede, we doubt not, a peculiar liability to such errors. Your circumstances have been difficult and embarrassing from the first; and it was not to be expected that you should avoid mistakes in every instance. You will not be surprised, therefore, when we say (what, indeed, you seem to anticipate) that there are principles involved in your mode of procedure from which we are constrained to dissent. With that frankness which belongs to the relation we sustain to you, and in a spirit which we hope our gracious Master will not disapprove, we present our own views, from which you will be able to infer the nature and extent of the difference between us. We take this course, without particularly noticing all the points in your letter, because in so doing we hope to exhibit our sentiments in a more orderly and intelligible manner.

But here let us guard your minds against a possible misapprehension of our principles.

1. We do not claim any *direct* control over the churches which you have gathered; nor shall we ever approach them with the language of authority or dictation. Most happy are we to acknowledge them as churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. We can suppose a case, indeed, in which we should feel it our duty to address them as brethren, beloved in the Lord, calling to our aid whatever power there is in argument, or appeal, or expostulation, as circumstances might demand. And we can suppose still another case, in which we might be constrained, by the sacredness of the trust committed to us, to withhold that pecuniary aid it has given us, in past years, so much pleasure to afford. But in all this we should recognise them as having all the privileges and immunities which appertain to any body of Christians in any part of the world.

2. We do not wish *you*, either individually or collectively, to bring any influence to bear upon those churches, or the community in which you dwell, except such as belongs to the ministerial office. Your churches, as well as yourselves, being in connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (meeting annually), we expect you to claim only those prerogatives which are conceded to pastors, under the jurisdiction of that body, so far as they are suited to your circumstances. The rights of your sessions and your churches must be duly regarded; for no apparent good can compensate for the injury done to a fundamental principle. You may argue with these brethren whom you have begotten in the Gospel, making your appeal to reason and to Scripture; but when you have exhausted your powers of persuasion, they must be left to act according to their own views of duty, being answerable only to the higher judicatories of your church, and to their Lord and Master. In what circumstances, and for what reasons, you may be allowed or required to withdraw from them, is a question which we have no occasion to consider at the present time.

3. We do not design to infringe in the least, by what we shall say in this letter, upon *your* rights as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ. From him, primarily and mainly, you hold your commission; to him, primarily and mainly, you are responsible for the manner in which you discharge the duties of your office. We speak to you as brethren, engaged in a common work, under the eye of a common Master. Upon one point which will come up in this discussion, we might address you in the language of authority; but even in regard to this question, as well as others, we choose to approach you with suggestions and arguments. We ask you to give them, as we doubt not you will, a candid and prayerful consideration. Perhaps we shall yet see eye to eye. And if this may not be, we will then raise the inquiry, "What further shall be done?"

Before proceeding to speak of the course which it is proper for missionaries to follow in a slaveholding community, it will be expedient to advert, for a moment, to the character of the system which has given rise to this discussion. And here, we presume, your views are in substantial accordance with our own. In your letter, indeed, you refer to the report adopted by the Board at its meeting in Brooklyn (1845) in terms of decided approbation. "We thought it was not in our power," you say, "to express in so clear a manner our own leading principles on that whole subject." But that document speaks of "the wickedness of the system" of slavery, "the unrighteousness of the principles on which the whole system is based, and the violation of the natural rights of man, the debasement, wickedness and misery it involves, and which are in fact witnessed, to a greater or less extent, wherever it exists"; and it quotes with approval the following declaration of one whom we all love and honour: "Viewed in all its bearings, it is a tremendous evil; its destructive influence is seen on the morals of the master and the slave; it sweeps away those barriers which every civilized community has erected to protect the purity and chastity of the family relation." Thus far, then, we are perfectly agreed. Domestic slavery is at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the Gospel.

But you will say, perhaps, that a distinction should be made between the system itself and the persons implicated therein, between slavery and slaveholding. We acknowledge the justice of this distinction; and, because of its importance in this discussion, we will briefly state our views in relation to it.

A *system* of slavery, like that which we are now considering, we believe to be always and everywhere sinful; but we do not believe that every act of *slaveholding* is sinful. A person may come into this relation, and may continue in it for a time, involuntarily. He may wish to put an end to it, and may actually put an end to it, as soon as he can. Such an one incurs no guilt whatever. His purpose was always right; and the first act which he had the power to put forth, bearing upon the continuance of the relation, was also right.

But a man may have the power to free his slaves, and yet not do it, out of regard to their highest good. He honestly hopes, we will suppose, that their day of freedom will soon come; he is doing, as he thinks, all that he can to hasten that day; in the mean time he omits nothing that a considerate and humane master can devise for their temporal and spiritual advantage. Now, it is possible that he has misjudged in deferring emancipation. Perhaps it would have been better for the slaves to receive their liberty at once; perhaps there were other considerations that should have been decisive. If so, what is his position? The answer would seem to be two-fold. 1. The continuance of the relation is wrong; but, 2, the master may stand acquitted in the sight of God, because he was influenced solely by benevolent motives. Just as the selling of ardent spirits, in the days of our common ignorance on the subject of temperance, was clearly wrong; and yet many good men, never imagining that they were acting contrary to the law of love, engaged in the traffic. The *external* character of an act is one thing; its *internal* character is quite another thing. A man may conscientiously do that which is injurious in its tendency; as, on the other hand, he may, with a bad motive and purpose, do that which is innocent or beneficial in its tendency.

As we pass from such slaveholding as we have just considered to that which is manifestly selfish, we find a tract of debateable ground on which we have no occasion to tarry. Sooner or later we shall come to that mournfully large class of cases, in respect to which no distinction of qualification can be made. We would not speak too confidently; still we fear that the owners of slaves generally regard and treat them as property, making their own advantage, and not the good of those who are in bonds, the grand object which they keep in view. And we cannot suppress the apprehension that this is true even in that community which has shared so largely, through your labours, in the benefits conferred by Christian missions.

I have already said that we regard domestic slavery as at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the Gospel. We do not claim that Christ or his Apostles expressly condemned this system in the New Testament. But we do claim that they said and did much that, by fair implication, bears strongly against it; while, on the other hand, they said and did nothing that, by fair implication, gives it the least sanction. Suppose, for example, that brief, but comprehensive, injunction of our Saviour, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," to be carried out to its legitimate results. What would become of slavery? In all its essential features, it would cease at once. Whatever might be the result as to the legal relation, its spirit would die. And then the Scriptures invest every man with privileges and responsibilities, which are utterly inconsistent with his remaining in a state of servitude. The slave cannot receive the fruit of his toil, according to the divine arrangement. He can neither enjoy all the rights nor perform all the duties of a husband or parent, as set forth in the Bible. He cannot develop those intellectual powers which, as seen in the light of revelation, are a treasure beyond all price. Above all, he cannot, in most cases, have that untrammelled access to God and his holy word, which is worth more to him, as a lost yet immortal and accountable being, than anything else.

It is not our design to go into any extended argument on this point; and still it may be well to make a passing allusion to the inference which is often drawn from the injunctions in the New Testament, addressed to masters and servants. The question is—"Do these injunctions concede or recognise the right of property in a human being?" Now, it does seem to us, that everything which is said to masters or servants is consistent with the hypothesis that the Apostles regarded the general relation as unnatural and sinful. Any one at the present day, who believes the system to be wrong, and labours, however diligently, for its termination, may with perfect propriety use the very same language. Besides, if these directions of which we are speaking prove that slavery is right now, they prove that this institution as it then existed in the Roman empire, giving the master the power of life and death even, was also right; a proposition, we presume, that no one will undertake to defend.

But why did not the Apostles, directly and unequivocally, affirm the sinfulness of slavery? Why did they not insist upon the duty of emancipation? Simply because (if we may venture to give an opinion) they saw that such a course, in their circumstances, would not soonest and best extirpate the evil. And for this policy they found the amplest authority in the dealings of God with his covenant people, and in the life of Christ.

To us, then, it seems very clear that slavery is opposed to the principles of the Gospel. What line of conduct, then, shall the missionary pursue when he is brought into contact with it? The answer, to be complete and satisfactory, must embrace the following topics; namely, *the preaching of the Gospel, the instruction given to slaveholding converts, the admission of this class of persons to the church, and the treatment they receive in the church.*

THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL.

It is the duty of the missionary, we suppose, to declare "all the counsel of God." He may not, in his exposition of the Divine will, restrict himself to those forms of transgression which are specifically denounced in the Scriptures. What pastor thinks of placing himself on this narrow basis? No. The man who carries the Gospel to the heathen must keep his eye always open; and whatever he sees around him that is contrary to this Gospel, he must consider as falling within the purview of his high commission. We do not say *when*, or *where*, or *how*, he shall bring the truth to bear upon any sin. Whether he shall declare his testimony against it to-day or to-morrow, next week or next year; whether he shall do it in the sanctuary, by the way-side, or in the home of the wrong-doer; whether he shall do it in the spirit of John the Baptist, or with the unseen approaches of Nathan the prophet, or with the melting earnestness of Paul, or in the gentler tones of John; whether he shall do it by marching directly on the citadel of error, or proceeding first against the outworks; all these are questions for the missionary. He has been sent forth because he is thought to possess the wisdom, integrity and zeal which are needful for this very work; and far be it from us to encroach upon his lawful prerogative. But that the work must be done, in some way, and at some time and place—that it must be done in the name and the fear of the God of missions—is to us very clear.

From this general law for the conduct of missions, we think that slavery can claim no exemption. You may say, indeed, that the Apostles did not directly assail it in their writings, because, according to our own showing, there was a better way. But it does not follow, by any means, that they *never* opened their lips in denunciation of the monstrous iniquity of Roman servitude. Still less does it follow that the ministers of Christ are never to be at liberty, in any state of society, or in any age of the world, to raise their voice against the enslaving of their fellow-men. The example of the Apostles, as we believe, goes to the extent of constituting the missionary the judge of the *time* and *mode* of exhibiting the truths of the Gospel in their relation to this system; but it cannot justify him, as we think, in closing his mouth forever.

In the commencement of a mission, as also in the commencement of the pastoral relation, it may be proper to say little or nothing respecting certain evils which are found to exist. A different course, indeed, might shut every door of usefulness for a long series of years. But when the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ have obtained an acknowledged standing in the community; when their character and their aims have begun to be appreciated; and when their influence, as teachers of a new religion, has become an established fact, they may cast aside something of their reserve. And if the great Head of the Church gives them tokens of his favour, manifest and marked; if churches are gathered, and converts are multiplied; and all the departments of missionary labour are carried forward with success, they may venture upon a still bolder course of action.

Now, we will not say at what stage in your history, it became expedient to exhibit, with that wisdom which is profitable to direct, the legitimate bearing of the Gospel upon slavery. Nor does it seem at all important to go into that inquiry. But when we consider the age of your mission, its remarkable success, the strong hold it has gained upon the Choctaw Nation, it does appear to us that if the time has not yet come to hold up, in some way, the great law of love in its obvious relation to the subject, we may well ask, "When will that time come?"

What you have said respecting "slavery as a civil institution" has been duly considered. We are fully aware that, being "in a civil respect foreigners and tenants at will under the officers of our government," you have neither political rights nor political responsibilities. But it so happens that this institution has its moral relations. Go where you may, and do what you will, in your own appropriate work, it lies directly across your path. It is an anti-Christian system, and hence you have a right to deal with it accordingly. True, it is regulated by law; but it does not, for this reason, lose its moral relations. Suppose polygamy or intemperance were hedged in by legal enactment. Could you not speak against them as crying evils? We are grieved to hear that the Choctaws have a law which practically debars the slaves from all direct access to the Word of God, without the consent of the owner. Did you never bear your testimony against the wrongfulness of shutting out this class of persons from the "lively oracles"?

INSTRUCTION OF SLAVEHOLDING CONVERTS.

This topic might be considered as embraced in "the preaching of the Gospel"; but I prefer to give it a separate notice. In the instruction imparted to new converts, the teachings of Christianity are presented in circumstances peculiarly interesting and favourable, and may, on that account, take a wider range and extend to a greater variety of subjects than is customary on other occasions.

It would seem that the aim of the missionary, in his intercourse with a recent convert, should be two-fold. 1. To ascertain the actual state of his affections; whether they are renewed or unrenewed. 2. To give him clear and explicit information on all the great questions of Christian duty. The latter is important, not only because his life should be conformed, as perfectly as may be, to the only true standard of action, but because the spirit with which he receives the principles of the Gospel will show how much reason he has to call himself a new creature in Christ Jesus.

And if this recent convert be connected with the system of slavery, what can be more natural and proper than a discreet and friendly inquiry into the nature of his views in regard to this institution? The missionary may and should unquestionably watch his time; he may and should leave the impression that he is governed, in what he says, by considerations that will commend themselves to any man's conscience; but in all ordinary cases, as we suppose, he may give utterance, at some time and in some way, to the opinions which he himself has derived from God's Holy Word. The mind of this new learner of Christian truth, if a genuine disciple, or a sincere inquirer, is peculiarly open and susceptible to the teachings of his spiritual guide. At what other moment, indeed, during his whole life, can he be approached on this theme with so much promise of good? And if he cannot bear the gentle and skilful probing of his honoured father in the Gospel, how little of the spirit of Christ must there be in his heart!

ADMISSION OF SLAVEHOLDERS TO THE CHURCH.

The Board, at its annual meeting at Brooklyn, adopted two general principles, which are applicable to all its missions. 1. The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper cannot be scripturally and rightfully denied to those converts who give credible evidence of piety. 2. The missionaries, in connection with the churches (if any) which they have gathered, are the sole judges of the sufficiency of this evidence. In the application of these principles to the case before them, they say that slaveholding does not always, in their opinion, involve individual guilt in such a manner as to exclude every person implicated therein from Christian fellowship. This conclusion seems to flow irresistibly from the distinctions already made in this letter, in regard to the character of slaveholding. If a person may be the legal owner of slaves, and yet be free from all blame in the sight of God, then it is clearly wrong to say that no slaveholder shall be admitted to the church of Christ.

But the Board could never have intended that all belonging to this class, and yet applying for this high privilege, should be received without inquiry as to their views and feelings in regard to slavery. Indeed, it seems to us that such an inquiry is, in all cases, fundamental. Here is a man involved in a system that is unchristian and sinful, and yet requesting admission to the table of our blessed Lord. Must he not prove himself free from the guilt of that system before he can make good his title to a place among the followers of Christ?

Perhaps he can show that his being the owner of slaves is involuntary on his part; perhaps he can show that he retains the legal relation at their request and for their advantage; perhaps he can show that he utterly rejects and repudiates the idea of holding property in his fellow-men. But, on the other hand, it may appear that, while professing to have the love of Christ in his heart, he holds and treats those for whom Christ died with a selfish spirit and for selfish purposes, thus showing that he has not compassed the length and breadth of the law of love, and therefore showing that he needs to be more perfectly taught in the right way of the Lord. For admitting such an one to the privileges of the people of God, especially in the advanced stage at which your mission has arrived, we know of no warrant whatever.

In what particular mode or form the missionary shall proceed to elicit the facts to which we have just alluded, we do not say. That he may feel himself greatly embarrassed, at times, by the question, we can readily see, especially if there has been none of the preliminary instruction imparted which has been already mentioned. But, if he "lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." It is not the design of our great Leader to carry forward the missionary work without the trying of our faith. We must expect to encounter caste, polygamy, oppression, and the oppressions of the powers that be. We must look for a contest with the brahmin and the moolah; with gigantic forms of superstition and error; with spiritual wickedness in high places. But if we go to Him who is faithful to his promises, and take shelter under his wings, we shall be safe.

In all that we have now said, you will understand that we have kept constantly in mind the circumstances in which you are placed. The power of admitting or rejecting candidates for the ordinances of the Gospel does not rest exclusively with you; and, as we have heretofore remarked, the prerogatives of your sessions must be duly regarded. But there are certain things which you may do; there are certain rights which you may exercise; there are certain responsibilities which are inseparable from your office. It is to the extent of these rights and responsibilities only that we desire you to to go.

TREATMENT OF SLAVEHOLDING CHURCH MEMBERS.

The principles which we have already submitted to your consideration suggest the general course which seems to be proper in dealing with this class of communicants. If there are any in your churches at the present time whose views on the subject of slavery are

therefore, to state precisely the quantities and values of cotton and hay, respectively, according to the Census of 1850, which is the last return we have of the hay crop. The returns in both cases are for the year 1849.

According to the Census Report, the cotton crop for the year ending June 1st, 1850—in other words, the crop of 1849—amounted to 2,466,603 bales, of 400 lbs. each. The average price per pound was perhaps something under ten cents; but, allowing ten cents, we have forty dollars per bale of 400 lbs. At this rate, the 2,466,603 bales will come to $98,664,120.

The hay crop, according to the Census, for the year ending June 1st, 1850—we presume it must mean the crop of 1849—was 13,829,295 tons. Of this immense crop, the slaveholding States, including Delaware, produced 1,137,913 tons—leaving 12,691,382 tons for the product of the free States. But as our object is to institute a comparison between the products of the two sections of the Union, we will deduct from the Northern crops an amount equal to that of the South, and show the value of the excess, in comparison with cotton. This excess of the Northern hay crop over that of the South amounts to 11,553,469 tons; which, at twenty dollars per ton, will come to the round sum of $231,069,380, which is considerably more than twice the value of the cotton crop.

We have probably rated the value of hay, as well as of cotton, at something above the ordinary selling price; but we believe that hay oftener reaches twenty dollars per ton than cotton ten cents per pound.

Hay is consumed at home, or in domestic markets, and consequently makes little noise in the commercial world; but it is not the less valuable for that reason. In fact, when an article is consumed at home, its full value is realized, since all the expense of transportation and the profits of merchants are saved.

We have shown that the excess of the hay crop of the North over that of the South is worth nearly two and a half times the value of the cotton crop. We now proceed to state, from the Census, the value of the tobacco and sugar crops.

The tobacco crop of the South, for the year 1849, according to the Census Report, was 184,993,907 lbs.; which, at seven cents per lb., comes to $12,949,573 49.

The sugar crop for the same year was 247,045 hogsheads, of 1,000 lbs. each, or 247,045,000 lbs. At five cents per lb., it will come to $12,352,250.

The total value of the three great staples of the South, in 1850, was, therefore, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cotton | $98,664,120 00 |
| Tobacco | 12,949,753 49 |
| Sugar | 12,352,250 00 |
| Total | $123,966,123 49 |

Against this value, we have the value of hay at the North, as above stated, $231,069,380, which is $107,103,256 51 in value, more than all the great staples of the South. The value of hay, as above stated, is only the value of the excess of Northern over Southern hay. The total value of the hay crop of the country would be some fifty millions of dollars more, or three times the value of cotton.—G.—*National Era.*

### *LETTER FROM A FUGITIVE.*

[From The Voice of the Fugitive.]

WINDSOR C. W., 1854.

MY GOOD OLD FRIEND: Through the kindness of a friend (for I assure you I have friends in the country). I now sit down to direct a few lines for your perusal. And in the first place I will now make acknowledgment for my unceremonious and hasty manner of leaving you, as you know I did not take time to say "good by, master." I was in a great hurry, not expecting to leave quite so soon, and consequently did not even wait to pack up and bring away my clothes. I would inform you that I have had hard times since I left you, but my liberty is worth all the pains I have taken to procure it. Sometimes I slept in the woods, fearing to approach any residence for fear of being detected, and thus find my way back to your house again. After I crossed the Ohio river, I found those who are warm friends of the slave. I found that those people called Abolitionists are very different people from what I expected to find them. Having met one of these creatures one day in my travels (the first one I had seen), he told me he was an Abolitionist and a friend to the slave, but from what I had heard from you and others, that they were negro-stealers, negro-haters, and were leagued with the devil to destroy the poor innocent Africans, this caused me to eye the gentleman with a suspicious glance, supposing that I had jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire; and if I fell into his hands, I looked for nothing else than to be taken down to Georgey, or eaten alive. I told him, however, that I was a freeman, and was glad to get away from him without losing my head.

If I had my trip to go over again, I think I could get along better, and would be glad to give directions to any one desiring to come to Canada, if I thought you would take the pains to inform them. I suppose you mind the time that you found me in Giles court-house Jail and insisted on putting bracelets on my wrists as a reward for my faithfulness, no doubt, and did so; you asked me if I would ever run away again; I told you no, except there was a great occasion, and you made me promise that I would stay occasion or no occasion, but you did not know what was passing through my mind, for I had determined to be a free man, and now, thank God, I am a freeman; I don't regard your threats, your whips, or your bloodhounds, for I am safe from under your power. And now I want you to give my love to my old sweetheart at James Kents; her name is Christiana Jackson; I would like to have her with me here in Canada, but tell her she need not wait any longer on me; she can marry who she pleases. Give my love to my three brothers and tell them to leave old master as quick as they can and make for the north star. Remember me to aunt Rhode and Juliet, and also to old Alfred, that good old Christian that lives at Berry Morgans. Give my love to old Missas and her daughter and tell them I hated to leave them very much, they took such good care of me the last night I had. Give my love to Burlin Haston and his wife and his sister-in-law Hannah, they live at Ruben Sawyers.

I do not wish you to think that I suppose you are the worst man in the world, but I think you might be a great deal better than you are, and you will have to be a good deal better if you ever expect to get to heaven. We were pretty near the house where an old friend lived, as we were coming along, when they catched the old hare, but they couldn't catch the fox. Tell Floyd that he ought not to allow himself to be caught quite so easy after starting so resolutely; I would like to here whether he was sold or taken back home.

Tell my brother Thomas to give two suits of clothes to Granville, one suit to Rice, and keep the balance himself. I am working here and doing very well; the money that I can earn is my own; I can do what I please with it. Wages are good in this part of the country, and good labouring hands are in demand. Now I bid you good-bye; you'll never see me back again in old Virginny; I tell you I would rather die than be under your heel again; but still I would like to see you again, and if you are anxious to see me just come along up to Windsor, and you'll find me; just ask for Ingrams Bill, and any body can tell you where I am. Write to me soon and let me know how you are getting along with the mill. I feel sorry to leave you just in the press of the season but I cannot help it now.

So good-bye, old Friend, for I won't call you master any more, and remember I'll meet you at the bar of our common Father and Creator.

Your friend but not your slave,

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

Robert Ingram.

### *OUTRAGEOUS CONSPIRACY—ESCAPE OF THE KIDNAPPERS.*

Our citizens will be astounded to learn that the three vile scoundrels, John Buchanan, George Buchanan and Wm. Grant, who were committed to our county jail for attempting to kidnap and murder a coloured man in our city on Sunday, 10th inst., have escaped. It was not done by breaking the bars of their cells, or any such means; but it was none the less well planned and sure in its results. They are gone—are beyond our reach—and all we are permitted to do is to inquire into the circumstances, and to hold the parties who have been engaged in the conspiracy to a strict account before public opinion.

We need not recapitulate the circumstances which led to the arrest and imprisonment of the kidnappers. The public is well informed on that point. It only remains to be told how and by whom they were released, and the circumstances under which the release was effected.

On Tuesday evening the Sheriff was served with a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Chief Justice Treat, at Springfield, commanding him to appear before him in 36 hours thereafter, at chambers, in that city, with the prisoners, that he might then and there inquire whether said kidnappers were justly held to bail and imprisoned.

Mr. Thomas Hoyne, chief conspirator in the matter, directly started with them to Springfield—the public, in the meantime, being kept in utter ignorance of the fact. On Tuesday morning, also, nothing leaked out concerning it until after the supposed departure of the delegates to the Aurora Convention, among whom were two of the attorneys, Messrs. Manierre and Haven. And it was not until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, that Sheriff Bradley gave to Mr. Anthony, the remaining attorney, notice that the case was to have a hearing in twenty-four hours thereafter, and that in that time he was to gather his witnesses, prepare all the papers and get to Sprinfield, over two hundred miles distant. Such a "summary" proceeding was as characteristic of the supporters of the Fugitive Slave Law and present Rum and Slavery party as it was subversive of public justice. Of course, Messrs. Hoyne and Bradley knew that the attorneys and witnesses could not go so far on so short a notice. Nay, more, they knew that two of the attorneys were absent from the city, and, at the time the prisoners were spirited away, none of them were expected to be here during the day, as all had been appointed delegates to the Aurora Convention.

Our readers and the public will see that the scheme was well planned by District Attorney Hoyne and his condjutors, and well executed by Mr. Sheriff Bradley, whose complicity is most glaring. Mr. Hoyne knew that if he could get the writ served, and secure the cooperation of the Sheriff, he could get the kidnappers and would-be murderers away and have them discharged and run off to Missouri even before the attorneys against them, as well as many of the witnesses, would return from the Aurora Convention.

Of Mr. Hoyne, no other course of conduct could be expected, for it has become an anxiom that none but those who are willing to prostitute themselves to the basest purposes can hold office under the present Rum and Slavery propaganda Administration. But, for Mr. Sheriff Bradley, of whom we had a right to expect an entirely different course of conduct, what excuse can be offered? He not only hastened off the prisoners, without giving notice to the prosecution, but without any necessity, for the law allowed him the most ample delay. Nay, more, he knew that were he to do his duty the writ of habeas corpus would be worthless, for the Grand Jury had that very day found a true bill of indictment against the prisoners; which indictment would have held them, and certainly brought them to trial and merited punishment. But Mr. Bradley saw fit to overlook this fact, until he had surrendered them and they were on their way to Springfield; and even after he had been notified of what he tried to profess ignorance of, that an indictment was lying against them at the time of their delivery, he made no attempt, that we have been able to hear of, to retake them upon that indictment, and return them to prison, to undergo trial for one of the greatest outrages that has been perpetrated in our city for many years.—*Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept.* 21.

### *THE PRETENTED PRESENTS FROM THE EMPEROR OF HAYTI.*

AN EMPEROR AND HIS MASTER.—The St. Louis *Democrat*, of the 17th inst., says: Some years ago Faustin I., who now wields the imperial sceptre over the island of San Domingo, worked the sugar and coffee fields for his owner under the unpretending name of Soulouque. It may not be uninteresting to know that the former master of the present Emperor is an old and highly respected citizen of this place, and that from time to time he receives a friendly message from his old slave. A week or two since he was pleasantly surprised with the receipt of several bags of coffee and a package of sugar, accompanied by quite an affectionate letter from his Imperial Majesty. It would appear that the parvenus of San Domingo differ from the parvenus of America. Soulouque's good fortune has neither obliterated the remembrance of his former condition, nor checked nor diminished his old affections.—*Washington Star.*

This story (says the *Evening Post*) has been travelling over the country about long enough for one destitute of the essential element of truth. The former master of the Emperor of Hayti has been dead several years. Soulouque was the slave of M. Viallet, at Petit Goave. He was but six years old when slavery was abolished. He never had but one owner or master, M. Viallet, to whom he was much attached, and whom he never failed to treat with marked attention when fit opportunities presented themselves, and this well-known fact may have been in part the foundation of the story which has found its way into the columns of the *Democrat*. In one of the series of "Notes of a Tour in Hayti," which appeared in the *Evening Post* during the past summer, the relations which subsisted between the Emperor and his old master are particularly referred to. We quote what is specially pertinent to the subject before us:

[Extract from Editorial Notes of a Tour in Hayti from the Evening Post, July 15, 1854.]

Faustin the First, as I have already stated, is now, according to his own report and the general belief, sixty-seven years of age. It is also a well-ascertained fact, though not very freely spoken of by his subjects, that he was born a slave on the estate of a M. Viallet, at Petit Goave, in the south part of the island. If he has given his age correctly, he must have been six years old when slavery was abolished in the French colonies by the Directory, in 1793, and when he, in common with the rest of his race in bondage in Hayti, received their freedom.

Both the parents of the Emperor are supposed to have been natives of Africa. M. Viallet was a kind master, and up to the close of his life, which occurred only a year or two since, was treated with the greatest veneration and respect by his distinguished freed-man. I heard a well-authenticated instance of the Emperor's devotion to him, after the revolutions of the wheel of fortune had materially changed their relations to each other.

Shortly after Soulouque's election to the Presidency, in 1847, M. Viallet, then a very old man, journeyed to Port-au-Prince for the purpose of paying his respects to the new government and giving in his adhesion to the new executive. As he was entering the palace he was seen by the President, who went out, and kneeling down kissed his hand. M. Viallet begged him to rise, and said he was ashamed to have the President so forget himself and his position in such a public place. Soulouque replied that he always looked upon M. Viallet as his greatest living benefactor, and, though President to the rest of his subjects, he should never cease to look upon him as his master.

### *ANOTHER FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.*

[From The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, September 25.]

U. S. COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.—Before U. S. Commissioner E. D. Ingraham.—*An alleged Fugitive Slave.*—A negro man named Henry Massey, claimed by Franklin Bright, of Queen Anne's county, Maryland, as a slave for life, was arrested on Saturday by deputy Marshals Miller and Birely, at Harrisburg, Pa., and brought before the commissioner.

J. C. Vandyke, Esq. (United States District Attorney), appeared for the claimant; and D. P. Brown, Esq., and W. A. Jackson for the fugitive.

The testimony given in behalf of the claimant was as follows:

W. E. Lynch, sworn—I live on Kent Island, Queen Anne's County, Maryland. I know the claimant; his name is Franklin Bright. I have known him at least ten or twelve years. He lives near me, on the island. I know this boy; his name is Henry Massey.

I have known him ever since I was a boy. He belongs to Mr. Bright. I knew him on Mr. Bright's place, and on his father's before his death. His father died four or five years ago. He has lived with Mr. Bright since his father's death; he hired him from his father; he fell heir to him on his father's death. Henry left about two years after Mr. Bright's father's death; he ran away, and a reward was offered for him by Mr. Bright. I was present when he was arrested at Harrisburg. I heard him say he owed Mr. Bright service; at first he said he did not owe either of us.

Cross-examined by Mr. Jackson—Saturday night this conversation took place. Mr. Bright was present, and Mr. Birely. There are two Brights—one is James—they are brothers, and live about twelve or fourteen miles apart. I can't say if it is nearer. Four years ago they lived four or five miles apart, probably not so far. Claimant's father died about five years ago—he left a will; this boy is mentioned in it.

He was left to a brother, since dead. Joseph Bright died last summer: he left a will. This boy is not specially mentioned in that will. Franklin Bright is the executor of Joseph. The estate is not settled yet. Franklin Bright is a farmer.

Wm. Birely sworn—I am a Deputy Marshal. In company with Mr. Miller I arrested this man on the canal at the upper part of Harrisburg; the commissioner asked him if he owed labour and service, and he said yes; I asked him no question; when arrested he said he did not know the claimant or Lynch, the witness; the name of his master was repeated to him.

The commissioner required an affidavit from the fugitive of the facts which he relied on, and upon the affidavit being made, postponed the further hearing till Monday next.

We observed but two black persons in attendance, and not many others, and the hearing was conducted with perfect quietness and order.

Mr. Van Dyke, for the claimant, contended that the case introduced by the cross-examination was one that the claimant was not bound by, as it was introduced not by him, but by the fugitive, but that, taking it for granted, it proved nothing in answer to the *prima facie* case made by the claimant, whose possession and claim of ownership were clearly made out; for if he were executor of Joseph Right the property was legally in him for the purposes of settling the estate, as against even the legatee till it was settled.

Upon the close of the argument, the Commissioner intimated his view of the case to the counsel, and Messrs. Brown and Jackson were urgent to have time allowed them to send to Maryland for the wills of the deceased Brights, alleging that the notice they had had was so short, that it was not possible to be prepared with the documents to found an argument on, but that they would have them if time were allowed them.

Messrs. Jackson and Brown contended that the cross-examination of Lynch showed that there were two wills, by which the property in Henry was shown to be out of Franklin Bright, the claimant, who could not assert a claim to him absolutely, but was bound to make it according to the record evidence, if he made it at all. They referred to Garnet's case before Judge Grier.

### *SLAVERY AND THE TRACT SOCIETY.*

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: A stale slander is revived in *The Manchester Examiner* (Eng.), and copied into your paper of yesterday, to the effect that J. J. Gurney's work on the "Habitual Exercise of Love to God" has been "mutilated" by an American Society. Please state the fact that the book was published here during the life of the author, and as the author prepared it for the press.

K.

1. Does K. (who enjoys ample facilities for ascertaining the truth) mean to deny that the work in question *was* altered as charged by *The Manchester Examiner?*

2. Does he deny that it was altered in deference to the slaveholding interest and spirit in the United States?

3. Does he deny that such alteration was prompted and required by the American Tract Society?

4. Does he deny that it is the regular feature of that Society to exclude from its publications all matter likely to offend or alienate slaveholders?

5. Does he deny that alterations are made without giving the reader fair notice?

6. If he does *not* deny any of these points, what does his caveat amount to? Suppose Mr. Gurney were persuaded, or coaxed, or bullied, into his mutilating his own work in the manner asserted, would that circumstance efface the culpability of those who constrained him to do so.—*Ed. Trib.*

STANDARD OFFICE REMOVED.—The Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from 142 to 138 Nassau street, on the corner of Beekman, and directly over the Counting Room of the *Daily Times*. The new office, like the old one, is at the head of the first flight of stairs, first door after turning to the right.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 30, 1854.


PLEDGES.—It is, we hope, a pardonable liberty in us to remind all those who have made pledges for the present year in support of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as those who have only proposed to themselves to become donors to its funds, that this season is always the time when such aid is most needed. It is near the middle of the financial year, when the funds contributed, and remaining on hand at the time of the Annual Meeting, are well-nigh exhausted, and three months, of course, before the usual aid from the Boston Fair is available. All, therefore, who have Donations to make will help the Society now in its day of need by forwarding them to Francis Jackson, Boston, or S. H. Gay, 138 Nassau street, New York.

☞ ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Horticultural Hall at Westchester, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 23d., 24th, and 25th of October.

The meeting will be one of importance. A central place has been selected for holding it, with a view of securing a free attendance of the members and friends of the Society. Subjects of deep moment to the Cause will be considered, and discussions of the liveliest interest may be anticipated.

Letters have been received from WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and LUCY STONE, announcing their purpose to be with us, and the presence of other distinguished speakers from a distance is expected.

A cordial invitation is hereby extended to all friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, far and near, to come to our meeting, and participate with us in our deliberations in behalf of the Society.

JAMES MOTT, President.

### *ANTI-SLAVERY POLITICS.*

SOME two months since, we published an article under this heading, in which we gave our best advice to those voting men who think Anti-Slavery should be a governing element of their political action. The last number of the *American Jubilee*, a monthly paper, conducted by Mr. William Goodell, in a notice of that article, misapprehended, we conceive, its purport and tendency. Mr. Goodell seems to understand that article as embodying a new plan of political action for the American Anti-Slavery Society, and as the platform of a party of which that Society is to be the nucleus. We do not think that it had any such necessary or natural signification. It was merely meant as a piece of advice to persons in all political parties, of Anti-Slavery propensities, as to the best way in which they could do all that political action can do at the present point of time. We think that we made it plain enough, in its last paragraph, that we looked on our advice only as milk for the babes of Anti-Slavery politics, and by no means as the strong meat which we thought essential to their growth up to the stature of perfect manhood.

Mr. Goodell's strictures upon our position, as being retrogressive from the high stand taken by the American Society, would be just if it was taken up as the ground on which that Society was to do its fighting. But it is nothing of the sort. We stand just where we always did. We still maintain that the highest political duty is to labour for the dissolution of the present Union of these States and for the edification of a better one. But this does not hinder our seeing what is going on in the world and watching the various attempts which are making to do somewhat towards Abolition, while yet in the body of that death. And, seeing what is going on, we are graciously disposed to favour with our advice all and singular who are thus engaged, and pointing out to them wherein they err in their tactics, upon their own principles of strategy, and how they could carry on their warfare with better effect. This we have always done, to Whigs, Barnburners, Liberty Party Men, Free Soilers, and all sorts of politicians, whenever they showed any disposition, however clumsily, to turn their faces Zion-ward. And we must do ourselves the justice to say that if our advices had been taken as they were administered from time to time, it would have been much better for the worldly success of the several parties, as well as for the advancement of the Anti-Slavery Cause.

This is all that we did in that article. We cannot help seeing that the question of Anti-Slavery must more and more enter into politics. We know that the great body of men of Anti-Slavery sympathies will try to give relief to them by political action. We tell them what is the highest and best thing they can do; but, if they will not accept that hard thing, we will show them what seems to us the next best thing they can do, "*Proximus hinc; longo sed proximus intervallo,*" next, but with a great gulf between. We hate to see people wasting their energies and throwing away their strength. We never denied that much might be done by political action. We have objected to taking part in politics ourselves, because we saw responsibilities and covenants imposed by the very fundamental institutions of the country as conditions precedent which we would not undertake or enter into. But this does not hinder us from seeing what things can and what cannot be accomplished by political organizations, nor does it shut us out from telling those engaged in them what seems to us to be their mistakes and what would be their best policy as Anti-Slavery politicians. We see that Compromise is the very essence of political action. That half a loaf is better than no bread is the vital principle of a political party. And when we see men hungering and thirsting to do some Anti-Slavery work at the polls, we will show them where they can find the half-loaf of expediency, if they reject the true bread which we hold out to them.

We think that all political movements of a Federal character must be vain and impotent. It is a political impossibility that any National legislation of an Anti-Slavery nature can be extorted from Congress, as constituted under the Constitution. Or, if possible, it would only be under the *duresse* of an imminent dissolution of the Union. If the Slaveholding Oligarchy that rules Congress could be fully convinced that certain Anti-Slavery measures must be passed or the Northern States would withdraw from the Union, we are as sure as we are that Slavery exists that they would be passed; for the slaveholders know that the Union is the Palladium of Slavery, and they would make any concessions to prevent it. We even believe that they would abolish Slavery in the States rather than be left face to face with their slaves, and their Northern mamelukes away. Wherefore we hold that, by preaching the doctrine of Disunion, we are fulfilling the measures of the Founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society as to "political action," though this particular form may not have been foreseen by them.

But, at the present point of time, this agitation can be better carried on without the forms of a political party. The time may come when Disunionism will take that shape and will appear at the polls and act directly on National politics. Indeed, it must take that form and pressure, under some complexion, sooner or later. But, even then, its sphere of action will be the Free States. Its business will be to bring them up to the point, and the results of their labours will be felt most sensibly at the central citadel of the cobweb in which the venomous creature that has spun it around us watches for the slightest tremble of its remotest lines. But that time is not yet. The public mind is not yet ready for it. The sluggish North is slow to feel any injury or insult that does not immediately affect its belly. But it has human feelings yet. The growing generation can hardly, in the nature of things, be as hardened and indifferent as that now passing off the stage. It will see that Slavery must be abolished or it will abolish them. And if they find that it cannot be abolished, as we believe they will, by "political action under the Constitution," they will demand, at least, the protection for themselves which they can only find in Separation.

But, before they are ready for these extreme measures, as they esteem them, there is a direction in which they can employ their political energies, if they see good. They can protect the soil of their own States from the insults of Slavery. They can do for Liberty what the Slave States do for Slavery. They can nullify the laws of Congress providing for the recapture of Slaves, and punish as felons all men pursuing or claiming slaves, or assisting in the pursuit. This has been done in the South. It can be done in the North, as soon as the North feels Liberty as vital to herself as the South does Slavery. The South professes to be willing to face the General Government on this issue. Let the North be really ready to do so, and her weight will right the Nation or will break it in twain. We do not conceive ourselves to be asking men to do anything they are not ready now to do, though, perhaps, in a different way. All Anti-Slavery voters either believe Slavery to be in the Constitution or they do not. If they do not, then there can be no scruple of conscience on their part. If they do, and yet are determined to set it at defiance, the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, we cannot perceive that their inconsistency with themselves in the supposed case would be any greater than it is now. As men will act politically, we wish to see them acting in the way in which they will produce the most effect, as regards themselves and the slaves—for the interests of the two are one and indivisible. And it is with these views that we feel free to offer them our opinions, whether they will bear or whether they will forbear.

### *THE WHIGS OF NEW YORK.*

THE Whigs of this State held their Convention, last week, at Syracuse, and made their nominations for the Fall Election. They are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Governor | MYRON H. CLARK, of Ontario. |
| Lieutenant-Governor | HENRY J. RAYMOND, of New York. |
| Canal Commissioner | HENRY FITZHUGH, of Oswego. |
| State Prison Inspector | NORWOOD BOWNE, of Delaware. |

The candidate for Governor, Mr. Clark, is understood to have decided anti-slavery, or, at least, anti-Nebraska, sympathies; and his nomination is, we suppose, satisfactory to the Maine Law party, as he was a strenuous advocate of that measure while in the Senate. He will probably make a good-enough Governor should he have the luck to try, and his chance is very good for it. Mr. Raymond, the next on the ticket, is the editor of the *Times*, has been speaker of the Assembly, and is a young man of very decided ability. We do not know why he should not fill the almost honorary office of Lieut.-Governor very respectably; but if anybody votes for him under an impression that he takes any interest in the slavery question except as it may affect the circulation of his *Times*, or damage the prospects of his party, such voter will find out his mistake should any crisis arise wherein Mr. Raymond should be called upon to take a decided stand against the Slave Power. Indeed, if anybody votes the Whig ticket in the hope that the party will take any firm position on the slavery question, when anything that it may say or do can affect it either one way or the other, such voters will find, as they always have in the like case, that they have sold themselves for nothing and got value received.

The place that is paved with good intentions should be, by this time, well covered with Whig Resolutions. When out of power, as a national party, they are uncompromising and almost ferocious in their Anti-Slavery Resolutions; but when in power, as they happen to be about once in a dozen years, their good intentions are sent for paving-stones to the place aforesaid. True, their President, when they get him, generally dies, as a Coroner's Jury would say, "by the visitation of God," soon after the Inauguration, and the Vice-President soon contrives to send the party after the Resolutions; but they do not realize their condition, and renew their anti-slavery zeal, till their opponents sweep the country in a new election, and then they are out again as the anti-slavery party, as good as new and quite as natural as ever.

The Convention at Syracuse did not depart from the established policy of the party of saying a great deal about slavery when it was of no consequence whether it said anything or not. The mover of the Resolutions, one Mr. Martindale, said that "when the opportunity has been offered us, the Whig party has been arrayed under the banner of freedom." Of course it was opportune now, as it has often been before, when nothing could be lost by it, and a few votes might be gained in a local election. But the party, all the while, was careful to keep "an eye to windward." It is safe enough to be terrible on the Nebraska Bill, for that is a thing that cannot be helped now. But when a Mr. Milliken, after the adoption of the Resolutions, offered an additional one, pledging the party to an effort for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, he was welcomed with a storm of hisses and cries of "withdraw!" "withdraw!" For the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act is a thing which, in the course of events, it may be in the power of the Whigs to effect, but one for which they have not the least stomach. That was the first evidence the Convention gave of the sincerity of its resolution that it is forever released from the obligation to support compromises with slavery. We are sure the whole party will eat all the rest of its words as unhesitatingly as this on the Compromises was swallowed at the Syracuse Convention; but we may as well copy them to show what the next meal is to be:

Resolved, That the Whigs of New York cherish now, as they have ever done, a cordial and immovable attachment to the Federal Union, and to the Constitution, as having been framed and ordained to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, and that they will resist any attempt, from any quarter, to divide the one or violate the other, or to divert either from the beneficent purposes for which they were established.

Resolved, That the passage by the framers of the Constitution and the fathers of the republic of the ordinance of 1787 clearly established as a cardinal principle with them that slavery should be forever prohibited in the territories of the United States.

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the firm and manly stand of the Whig Senators of the State of New York in defence of the rights of the Free States, and maintenance of the principles and policy of the Whig party, and that we tender our grateful thanks to those members of Congress who resisted with fixed fidelity the breach of public faith involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Resolved, That, by the act procuring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we hold that we are forever discharged from all obligations to support any compromise with slavery, except such as are contained in the Constitution of the United States; and most especially that we are forever released from all obligations to admit into our Union any State which sanctions or permits slavery.

Resolved, That the recent action of Congress, stimulated and approved by the President, whereby the compact commonly known as the Missouri Compromise is repudiated, and the vast Territory known as Nebraska and Kansas opened to slavery, has already received the unqualified condemnation of the Whigs of New York, and we point with satisfaction and pride to the fact that not a single Whig member of either House of Congress from this or any other free State yielded any sort of support, countenance or favour to that most unjust and unrighteous proceedhg.

Resolved, That a measure so pervading and momentous in its scope and influence, so vitally affecting the reputation and destiny of our whole country, as the establishment or introduction of human slavery throughout a portion of the national domain larger than the old Thirteen States, can with propriety be referred to no tribunal less exalted and commanding than that composed of the whole American people; and we protest against its diversion, under the false and deceptive cry of "popular sovereignty," from this august tribunal to one composed of the few hundreds or thousands of squatters who may first encamp in said territory, as a palpable dereliction from duty, under a pretext too flimsy to mislead any but those anxious to be deluded and eager to be led astray.

Resolved, That against the principles involved in the Nebraska bill, in their application either to territory now belonging to the Union or hereafter to be acquired, the Whigs of New York will struggle with equal resolution and confidence—resolution that they shall not and confidence that they cannot receive the sanction of the American people, and in this struggle we invite the cooperation, on terms of equality and fraternity, of all sincere and earnest champions of Free Labour and Free Soil.

Resolved, That the indications of a purpose on the part of the champions of slavery, made manifest through their recognised representatives and countenanced by the organs of the Federal Administration, to restore the African slave trade, are sufficient to excite apprehension and alarm in the mind of every patriot and every friend of humanity, and that the Whigs of New York take this timely opportunity to declare they will resist, at every hazard and to the last extremity, every effort to drag down this free Republic by such a step from the proud position which it holds among the civilized and Christian nations of the earth as the first to prohibit that inhuman traffic and brand it as piracy.

Resolved, That the Executive Department of the Federal Government ought no longer to be vested in the hands of the men who wield its patronage and its influence for the aggrandizement of slavery and its political power, and that the Whigs of New York will labour to effect the overthrow of the Administration which has proved so reckless to duty and so regardless of the rights and interests of the Union, and to elect a President with whom fidelity to Freedom shall not be a perpetual disqualification for the public service.

### *THE CONVENTIONS AT AUBURN.*

CONVENTION OF THE FREE DEMOCRATS.

THE present week is one of Conventions in this State, and the series was led off by that of the Free Democrats, at Auburn, on the 25th instant. It was presided over by John Jay, of this city, and John P. Hale was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. Its several meetings appear, so far as we can judge from the telegraphic reports, to have been, in the main, harmonious, though the occurrence of the anti-Nebraska Convention on Tuesday, naturally enough, made some little confusion in its councils. There were members who seem to have been divided by a distracted allegiance, but the party, as a whole, maintains its ground. It, of course, nominated a ticket, heading it with the name of the Whig candidate for Governor, whose election, therefore, may be considered past a doubt. The other nominations of the Whigs the Free Democrats could not accept, and their whole ticket stands thus:

*For Governor*—MYRON H. CLARK.
*For Lieutenant-Governor*—BRADFORD R. WOOD.
*For Canal Commissioner*—CHARLES A. WHEATON.
*For State Prison Inspector*—PHILIP H. MACOMBER.

We subjoin also the Resolutions adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, That the Free Democracy of the State of New York see, in the present aspect of national affairs, no new issue for them to meet, and they have no new platform to construct, but they adhere to their sentiments heretofore avowed, and remain, as ever, the constant opponents of the further spread of human slavery, and the friends of every constitutional movement for its restriction and final extermination in the country.

Resolved, That we are firmly attached to the Union of these States and the Federal Constitution, and that our efforts are directed to the object of making that Union and Constitution what our fathers intended they should be—in favour of liberty and not slavery—and worthy of the confidence and support of the friends of freedom in this and other lands.

Resolved, That the repeal of the section of the act prohibiting slavery in all that part of the Louisiana purchase lying north of thirty-six thirty by the present Congress, was not only inexpedient and unnecessary, but was a gross violation of plighted faith on the part of the Slave Power, with the design of opening that vast region of country known as Nebraska and Kansas to the inroads of slavery; and if any beneficial result is to follow therefrom, it is against the tendencies of said repeal—and we are indebted to the effects of the alarmed and indignant friends of free soil and free labour therefor.

Resolved, That the act commonly called the Fugitive Slave Law is at war with the first principles of the Federal Constitution, and also of justice and humanity, and as such is entitled to, and shall ever receive, the earnest, united and continued opposition of the Free Democracy until it is erased from the statute books of the United States.

Resolved, That as its political organization originates in the desire of a means to amend, and that its end is chiefly the restriction of slavery, and the overthrow of the Slave Power of the country, with its natural results, it is willing at times to cooperate and unite with other parties, when that end can best be obtained by so doing, having a just regard for its own dignity and self-respect.

Resolved, That, with Madison, Jefferson, and other statesmen of their times, we believe that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the Constitution of the United States was ordained to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to the whole American people; and that the idea that there can be property in man is unsupported by it, and we consider the enslavement of man by his fellow-man to be a sin against God, and an outrage upon all valid law.

Resolved, That prohibition by statute law of the traffic in intoxicating beverages is demanded by a regard to the interest of society and in harmony with the spirit and purpose of civil government.

Whereas, The two sections of the so-called Democratic party of this State adhere to the pro-slavery platform adopted at Baltimore, in 1852, and the political organization by which that platform was adopted, and

Whereas, The Whig party of the United States, at its last National Convention, adopted a pro-slavery platform, similar in all its essential features to that previously adopted by the Democratic Convention, and

Whereas, The Whigs of New York, at their State Convention in 1852, declared an honest acquiescence in the decision and action of the National Convention of the Whig party, upon all subjects legitimately before them, to be the duty of every Whig, and endorsed the nomination of Gen. Scott, with the platform annexed, and the Administration of Millard Fillmore, the Fugitive Slave Law included, and

Whereas, The Whig party of the State of New York has in no manner receded from the pro-slavery platform it occupied in 1852, but still adheres to the national organization; therefore

Resolved, That while this Convention cannot completely affiliate with either of the political organizations, or adopt the tickets nominated by them, we are ready and willing to cooperate with the true friends of freedom of all parties in this and other States by the formation of a Republican organization, and the nomination of a Republican ticket, composed of men who have abandonded, or are ready to abandon, the existing political organizations of this State.

THE ANTI-NEBRASKA CONVENTION.

This met on Tuesday, as adjourned from Saratoga. A year or two ago it would have been called a "cave-in"; the popular term now is "fusion." In the vernacular, the Anti-Nebraskaites have gone over to the Whigs; and so ends the hopes of those good-natured, but weak, people who hoped that a great anti-slavery party was to grow out of the anti-Nebraska movement. The Convention nominated the Whig ticket clean, and without much boggling, letters having been procured from the candidates avowing their adhesion to the principles of the Saratoga Convention. It has been a game well played by Whig wire-pullers, and we have just as much to hope from the movement as we have from the anti-slavery professions of the Whig party, scattered, for the last dozen years, over the country a great deal thicker than leaves in Vallambrosa. The Convention, however, tried to make a difference between itself and the Whig Convention at Syracuse, where they would listen to no condemnation of the Fugitive Slave law, by these Resolutions:

Resolved, That we deem the Fugitive Slave law an act of usurpation, an exercise of power not granted in the Constitution, averse to the declared sentiments of the great founders of the republic, South and North, as set forth in the Declaration of American Independence—the platform on which the General Government was erected.

Resolved, That the Federal Government has no rightful power to interfere between the fugitive slave and his master; that the clause in the Constitution where such power is sought refers not to the General Government, but to the States only, not a grant of power to Congress, but merely a recognition of a compact previously entered into between the States when under the Confederation, before the Constitution was formed; and that when the General Government assumed to pursue and consign to perpetual bondage a guiltless man, it mistook its calling.

But we fancy the ticket nominated makes a hole in this grindstone big enough for the feeblest eye-sight.

CONVENTION OF SECEDERS.

Some of the members of the Convention evidently thought so, for they seceded, held a meeting of their own, and nominated a ticket identical with that of the Free Democrats. But this offshoot, we judge from the names of those engaged in it, was composed of men who went into the Saratoga Convention as Free Democrats. They were looking for a fish, and have got a serpent, and have therefore concluded, probably, to stay on their own fishing-grounds. This Convention will not finally adjourn in time for us to give any further result of their deliberations, should there be any, this week.

INDEPENDENT MASS CONVENTION.

There seems to have been another Convention at Auburn, in session for a few moments on Monday and Tuesday, but it met apparently without any fixed purpose, had almost nobody present, and did nothing. And nothing, probably, will come of it.

The Liberty party nomination is yet to come, and he must be a very crotchety individual who, if he votes at all, is at a loss, in this election, for a ticket.

### *PRESENT RELATION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD TO SLAVERY.*

WHATEVER may be thought of the soundness of principle of the A. B. C. F. M., it cannot be denied that their affairs are managed by keen, sagacious old heads; men who have a genius for success; experienced pilots, whom long practice has enabled to steer unharmed between Scylla and Charybdis. For ten or fifteen years past, there has been a steady increase in the number of people who, while they loved the missionary work, earnestly desired that it should be carried on without complicity with slavery. The more earnest of these have actually departed, and now, under the name of the American Missionary Association, employ elsewhere a hundred and fifty missionaries and teachers, and thirty-five thousand dollars, which, but for its tolerance of slavery, might have remained at the disposal of

the (Glasgow) *British Times*, setting forth the motives which should prompt the labours we have hinted at:

AMERICAN SLAVERY.—Our readers are again reminded that they may have an opportunity of serving the cause of emancipation in America, by contributing to the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar. It is held under the auspices of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of that city, during the last week of every year. The next will be the twenty-first time that these indefatigable friends of the slave devote themselves to this mode of serving the cause, and we may be sure they find it of effectual service, or they would not continue it, but would devise some better method. The receipts of their last sale were upwards of *four thousand dollars*; and what goods remain unsold at Boston are disposed of at bazaars in other towns during the year, so that nothing is lost, or sold to a disadvantage, as at many casual sales of this description.

There can be no doubt but that there is a "coming struggle" for liberty in the United States—a struggle greater than has ever yet been known. The passing of the Nebraska bill, and the desperate efforts lately made to enforce the Fugitive Slave law, have evidently awakened the whole American community to the determination, on the part of the slaveholding power, to maintain and extend their dominion.

Religion and humanity, thus daringly outraged, claim the aid of every Christian on both sides of the Atlantic. Let these be but faithful, united, and persevering in their prayers and their labours, till truth, justice, and liberty triumph over every obstruction. In proportion to the urgency of the crisis will be the drain on the anti-slavery exchequer. Let it then be speedily and willingly replenished, either by direct donations of money or by giving the labour of our minds and hands, so that we prove our earnestness to help on the good work of the slave's liberation.

## *MEETING AT BARRE, MASS.*

[From a Correspondent.]

A VERY interesting and very largely attended Anti-Slavery meeting was recently held in the large and flourishing town of Barre, in Worcester County. It was a quarterly meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society long existing in the northerly half of that populous and intelligent County, but was made more than usually interesting and, we believe, effective by the active exertions, previous to the meeting, of the members of the Society resident in Barre, and especially by the friendly coöperation of Rev. Charles E. Hodges, late pastor of the Unitarian Society in that town, and his numerous friends.

The meeting commenced on Saturday evening, 23d inst., at the commodious Town Hall. Mr. D. M. Allen, the Secretary of the Society, being the only officer present, Mr. Wheelock, of Barre, was chosen to preside. After the transaction of business, and the appointment of Committees, the audience, which was quite numerous, was addressed by Mr. MAY, the General Agent of the Massachusetts Society, and by Rev. A. T. Foss, also an Agent of that Society; also, for a short time, by a lady, whose name we have unfortunately lost. This meeting was a very auspicious commencement. The fine weather of that day was again renewed on Sunday, and, at 10 1-2 o'clock, the Town Hall was again well filled, and with such an audience, both of men and women, as it is a high pleasure to see and speak to. Most of them had left their usual places of Sunday assembly, to hear the principles and reasons of the Anti-Slavery movement set forth, and they listened with a close and serious attention which well repaid the efforts of the Society and of the speakers.

After the chair had been taken by Joshua T. Everett, the senior officer present, and a few opening words from him, selections from Scripture were read by Mr. May, and prayer was offered by Mr. Hodges. Mr. May, then, from the Committee of Business, presented several appropriate resolutions. WENDELL PHILLIPS, then, for an hour and a half, addressed the meeting, in one of his clear, deep, and richly-illustrated discourses. He spoke to the consciences and hearts, apparently, of all present, when he declared and demonstrated the identity of the Anti-Slavery movement with pure Christianity, and showed not only our right, but our duty, to employ the hours of Sunday in meetings where the condition and wrongs of the slave, and our duties towards him, can be considered and enforced. He faithfully and forcibly rebuked those false churches which forget the slave and strive to make odious the very name of his friends, and he denied their claim to be true churches of Christ.

The entire afternoon session was occupied in listening to a very able, thorough, and finely-written discourse from Rev. Mr. Hodges. Attracted by its expectation, a very large audience occupied the hall, and were richly rewarded for their attention. We should be greatly pleased to see the entire discourse in print.

The hall was again filled in the evening, and the meeting addressed by Messrs. Foss, May and Phillips, the latter occupying the larger portion of the time. Among the numerous topics which he treated, his review of the political parties, in their attitude towards this question, may be mentioned for the plainness as well as justice of its criticism.

Mr. MAY, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions, in course of the evening, accompanying them with an invitation to all present to sign the petition referred to.

Resolved, That EDWARD GREELEY LORING, of Boston, the United States Commissioner who sent Anthony Burns back into slavery, did, by that act, forfeit all claim to the respect and confidence of the citizens of Massachusetts, inasmuch as he notoriously leaned to the side of the slaveholder, forgetting law, justice and humanity; setting aside the testimony of many impartial witnesses in the prisoner's favour, while admitting the words of the prisoner so far only as they were evidence against himself, and taking those words at second-hand, from a solitary witness, and he the tool of a Virginia slaveholder.

Resolved, therefore, That the said LORING ought to be removed from the office he now holds, under this commonwealth, of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk; and we, men and women of Massachusetts, will testify our abhorrence of his pro-slavery act, and our sense of the disgrace he has inflicted upon Massachusetts, and of the danger which threatens the orphan and widow from the continuance of such a man in office, by petitioning the coming Legislature for his removal.

And so, after a meeting of more than usual interest, the Society adjourned.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—We do not remember to have seen any better, if any so good, Resolutions passed by a religious body than the following, adopted by the Genesee Annual Conference (Methodist), composed of the ministers of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Monroe, Genesee, Wyoming, and Allegany Counties, which met, in the early part of the month, at Warsaw. About one hundred and twenty clergymen were in attendance, and unanimously resolved:

1. That obedience to the Fugitive Slave law is *not obligatory*; but that, on the contrary, we are bound to spurn it, as a shameless and wicked attempt to impose on us a bondage even more degrading than that to which it requires our aid in reducing the hunted fugitive; that by the grace of God we will never contract the guilt of complicity with the stealers of men, infinitely preferring to abide the penalty of non-compliance to the enduring infamy of either passive or active acquiescence in the most insulting exaction ever thrown into the teeth of men possessing the least respect for themselves, the laws of the Creator and the equal rights of their fellow-men; and we hereby exhort our people, as they have opportunity, to follow our example.

2. That the late action of the United States Congress, by which the section of the Missouri Compromise prohibiting slavery in the territory known as Kansas and Nebraska is repealed, is a flagrant and shameless perfidy to a sacred compact, which, while it abates the obligation of all kindred compromises, we will never cease to oppose by all constitutional means, till its execrable object is defeated.

3. That while we are unalterably opposed to the acquisition or admission of Territories as States into this Confederacy on other grounds than those of the utter and everlasting exclusion of slavery, we are equally opposed to the organization of Churches or Conferences on other than the same grounds.

4. That, in the judgement of this Conference, it is competent for the General Conference so to construe the general rule on slavery as that it shall prohibit the holding of human beings in involuntary servitude by the members of our Church; and that the General Conference be requested at its next session to declare such construction, and to provide regulations for its application and execution, with the least possible injury to the parties to be affected by it, and in the most effectual manner.

5. That inasmuch as political evils require appropriate political remedies, we will vote for no man, for any State or National office, who is not firmly and explicitly pledged against the further aggression of the slave power, and in favour of reclaiming those rights and powers which have been usurped by it, and whose personal character is not a guaranty that he will act accordingly; and that we earnestly advise our people to follow our example.

6. That on the ground of the want of stringency and definiteness in the Resolution of the Troy Conference, this Conference do hereby non-concur in that Resolution.

WE published, a few weeks since, as our readers will well remember, a very able article on the Episcopal Church of South Carolina. The number of the paper containing it was very widely circulated among non-subscribers to the *Standard*, and, to some extent, at the South, particularly in South Carolina. From that State we have received several responses, some venting their spleen by returning the paper—occasionally in an envelope, subjecting us to letter-postage on newspaper weight—and others by letter. "I have BURNT it," writes one—we copy him literally—"a fate which ALL such papers edited by such insignificant puppy's shall share, and I hope this will infuse a little sense in your noddle that by sending such BASEFUL and UNCIVILLY edited papers you cannot *gain* anything by the operation." Whether fire would 'infuse' any sense into us or not, we hardly know, never having known any such results to follow the use of that element; but we are certain that there is one trait which fire would not burn out of this man, nor could it be brayed out of him, though he be brayed in a mortar. We have stood harder things than it ever was, or ever will be, given him to say.

That was from Charleston, and we have since received another of a similar sort from the same renowned city. We copy it *in extenso*:

"*To the Editors of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,*

"Your Paper has been received and perused, and I take this opportunity of returning it with my *contempt* for the *malicious* and *villanous authors*—you have offered an insult which cannot soon be erased—and I hope some *suitable* time will *soon* come, when I can demand that satisfaction—a satisfaction to be gratified by the administering of a good *cowhide*, on the backs of, you unprincipled scoundrels,"

During the last ten years, we have received a good many such missives from the "sweet South," but our back is still innocent of 'gratifying' a 'satisfaction' in the manner here promised. Not that we mean to cast any doubt, however, upon the dexterity of these fire-eaters with their favourite weapon, the cow-hide; and if an attempt should be made to 'infuse' anything into our head, with either that implement or with fire, we should have reason enough, judging from the cruel precision with which they break the head of Priscian, to dread the result.

A MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRAT.—The Boston Correspondent of the *Evening Post* gives the following pen-and-ink sketch of a recent recruit to the Administration ranks in Essex County, Mass. The subject of this graphic drawing (and quartering) is, of course, an office-holder—postmaster of Salem:

"The Doctor [Loring] commenced public life some fifteen years ago, and was thought to be a very high-principled young man, as he certainly was an able one. He was something very like to an Abolitionist. In 1842, when the public mind was agitated on the right of search question, the Doctor wrote a reply to, or a criticism on, Gen. Cass's famous paper concerning it, in the shape of a pamphlet, which was much admired by all persons of a radical turn of mind. It was very caustic on General Cass and the Boston *Post*, and very eloquent in praise of England. It was an anti-slavery abolition document. Mr. Garrison liked it. Wendell Phillips recognised in its author a kindred spirit. Even Edmund Quincy, who never lightly praises, I was told at the time saw in it much to admire. Dr. Loring was one of the late Mr. Rantoul's most intimate personal and political friends, and urged him to take that strong ground against the Fugitive Slave law which led to his election as a member of Congress in 1851. It will be remembered that Mr. Rantoul made his first open political demonstration against that odious and insulting statute at the Lynn mass convention in April, 1851, which was called for the purpose of affording him an opportunity to make that demonstration. The Doctor was concerned in getting up that convention, and was, I believe, one of the officers. So satisfied were the Free Soilers with the action of the convention that they withdrew their candidate and voted for Mr. Rantoul. In the coalition times, the Doctor supported that party, and held office under the government of its creation. He continued thus to act until Mr. Rantoul's death, when he turned round and became one of the completest supporters of the Fugitive Slave law that we ever had in Massachusetts. Mr. Rantoul's ashes had not become cold in the grave where were buried so many hopes, when Dr. Loring joined the hunkers, and drew up for a hunker convention an address, in which the sacred nature of the slave law and the duty of the people to support it were especially dwelt upon. Such is the man who now leads that small portion of the Essex County Democracy which passed resolves in support of the Nebraska bill. From no other quarter could such evidences of rascality emanate. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Doctor is an office-holder. Such claims for promotion could not escape Mr. Cushing's attention. The Doctor is fortunately of Salem. As Mr. Bumble said concerning his sale—under his name of marriage—to Mrs. Corney, he went cheap—but for more than his worth. It was said that if there had been any man among the Salem hunkers who knew how to spell, the Doctor would not have got the office. I do not attach much importance to this statement, because I have known the Administration to appoint men to office who did't even know how to read."

CHARGE OF SLAVE-TRADING.—Two arrests were made in this city, last week, of persons charged with being engaged in the *Foreign* Slave Trade—namely, Captain J. Smith, formerly of the Brig 'Julia Moulton,' and William C. Valentine, of 155 South street, owner of said Brig. An examination was had at the office of the United States District Attorney, at which it was shown that the brig 'Julia Moulton' was cleared at this port in February last for the Cape of Good Hope and a market, but that instead of going to the Cape of Good Hope, she went to another point on the coast of Africa, took on board 660 persons, and landed them at the Keys on the coast of Cuba, where they were sold as slaves, and the brig then set on fire and burnt to the water's edge.

Mr. Valentine, the owner or fitter out of the vessel, was held to bail in the sum of $20,000 to answer the charge against him, the penalty for which is imprisonment for not over ten years, and a fine not exceeding $5,000.

The District Attorney refused to take bail for Captain Smith, as his offence, if proved, is punishable by death as piracy. He was accordingly committed.

The trial will probably take place in a few days; but, as nobody was ever yet hung in the United States for this form of piracy, Captain Smith has probably no uneasy sensations about his throat. Nor, we think, need Mr. Valentine feel any apprehensions of being removed from some pleasant up-town residence to a cell at Sing Sing. There is that much respect for consistency among our administrators of the law, that we do not punish that act, when committed abroad, as a crime, which at home is a national institution, and the chief employment of the most honoured and most influential of our own citizens.

THE UNIVERSALISTS held their Annual Convention at Philadelphia last week, and are reported to have held strong language, in their Resolutions, on the question of Slavery. The Resolutions themselves we have not seen; but we observe that a Rev. Mr. Flanders, of Baltimore, made a speech against them, or some part of them, not, as he said, because he was a defender of slavery, but because their passage would interfere with the individual exertions of Universalists at the South, and prevent the spread of their principles.

We do not know what answer was made to him, but it might very properly have been said in reply that if the universal salvation of the South depends upon letting alone the sin of slavery, they might all be damned at once according to the old method.

☞THE (Boston) *Commonwealth* came to its end last week, its proprietors declining any longer to publish a paper that did not pay its cost. The establishment is sold to another concern, who are about to start a paper to be called the *Telegraph*, of which Richard Hildreth is to be editor in chief, and which will be, we suppose from its prospectus, the *Commonwealth* continued, as that was the continuation of a predecessor which was also the continuation of a predecessor, which was ditto, ditto, after the legislative formula of an act to amend an act, to amend an act, &c., &c. Not that we mean, however, to impeach the character of any of its various predecessors, by the use of the term 'amendment,' for in such a case the rule of *de mortuis* should hold good; least of all would we be understood as saying anything of the late departed. The *Commonwealth* was a good paper, and we part with it with regret. It was not only relatively good, as compared with its daily contemporaries of Boston—for that would be no praise at all, as Boston is a very badly-used city in its supply of daily newspapers—but it has been, for much of its life, positively good, both as regards the position it has maintained and the ability with which it was conducted.

The *Telegraph*, we doubt not, will be a worthy successor. Mr. Hildreth is a veteran editor, a man of wide cultivation, and one who has already made his mark upon the literature of his time. The Anti-Slavery cause has known him for more than twenty-years, and we have no fear that a paper under his guidance will be found on the wrong side in the great struggle.

AN APPREHENSION.—There is an old superstition that any remarkable and radical change of character betokens an early death. Those who give that belief full faith may apprehend that we are about to lose one of our great public amusements, for it is reported that at the opening of the New York University, last week, the Rev. Dr. Cox advocated the opinion, in a speech of some length, that all the graduates of that Institution should be turned out complete masters of the *English* language! Whether we regard this as the evidence of some compunctious visitings which have overtaken the Dr. for the light-minded, though certainly very amusing, manner in which he has always disregarded the claims of his mother-tongue to be spoken intelligibly, or whether it be taken merely as a proof that there is, after all, a glimmer of common sense in him, we cannot help regarding the fact that he has spoken respectfully of the English language as an indication of that change pointed at in the superstition we have mentioned.

## Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

From an Occasional Correspondent.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25th, 1854.

MESSRS. EDITORS: I notice with regret the absence from your columns of your Regular Philadelphia Correspondent. I presume he thinks it unnecessary for him to write a letter every week, as he sees that the transpirings of Pennsylvania are duly noticed, either by yourselves, editorially, or by some one who sends you an "occasional" epistle. Still, I miss his letters; especially those that touch on politics; for though, like himself, I am no politician, I like to know what the politicians are about. The fact is, in this State, we have no other way of knowing the changes that are going on in public opinion. In New England, and in your State, the Church and Clergy are potential elements, and the action of the one and pulpit expression of the other afford good indices as to the views and feelings of the people. But it is not so here. Our churches have little or no power in the formation of public sentiment; and what our preachers say on Sunday furnishes no clue whatever to the course or complexion of public events. The churches are, for the most part, mere sectarian organizations, isolated from the people, having no sympathies in common with humanity around them, and intent on their own ecclesiastical aggrandizement. The preachers, with a few honourable exceptions, are the creatures, not the creators, of public opinion, and, on all questions requiring moral courage, are "dumb dogs that cannot bark." We have, therefore, to look at the action of political parties and the character of candidates for Government office to find out, at any time, how the masses feel, and what their disposition may be, on the subject of slavery.

Your article, in the *Standard* of the 9th inst., headed "Politics in Pennsylvania," gave, I thought, a rather discouraging view of the position of this State on the question of slavery. Bad as we are, I still don't think we have sunk so low as to be, unquestionably and by title, "the meanest of the Free States." Certain of our Representatives, it is true, four years ago, voted for the Fugitive Slave law, and aided to throw open our territory to the incursions of the slave-hunters; and, at this last session, a still larger number, claiming to be our Representatives, united with the slaveholders in the passage of the infamous Nebraska Bill. But the people of Pennsylvania have never consented to either of these measures. The Slave Law was always repugnant to them, and never was executed but with the greatest difficulty; and when, at Christiana, William Parker killed the slave-catcher, Gorsuch, the people approved the deed, as was subsequently made evident by the Treason Trials. The public sympathy was with Hanaway and Lewis, the prisoners at the bar, and its expression was so strong as to force a verdict of triumphant acquittal. The Fugitive Slave law is of no more use to the South now than was the old law of 1793 previous to its adoption; the occupation of Ingraham, Alberti and McAllister is almost gone, and the reward of Judges Grier and Kane for their fidelity to the slave-power is a harvest of infamy, which it will take all their lives to garner, and which will even then leave ample gleanings for their posterity.

As to the Nebraska Bill, Pennsylvania repudiates it and the men who misrepresented her in its passage. This is shown by every political demonstration that has been made in the State since the act was consummated. East, west and north, the voice of the people has been heard, and the indications now are that, at the State election, which is to be held on the 10th of next month, Pennsylvania will repudiate the men that have betrayed and the measure that has disgraced her. It is expected that Judge Pollock, the Anti-Nebraska and Anti-Administration candidate, will be elected by a majority of not less than 10,000; and the fact that he is likely to be elected at all is owing wholly to his position on the subject of Nebraska and slavery.

Such is the state of feeling in the commonwealth at large. In this city, where there is as much political corruption as in any other part of the State, the anti-Nebraska and anti-slavery feeling is so strong that neither Witte, Robbins nor McNair, all of whom voted for the bill, have been renominated for a reelection, and the return of Florence from the 1st District, whose success otherwise would be certain, is rendered exceedingly doubtful.

The repeal of the 6th section of the anti-kidnapping law, which you enumerate as one of our sins, was, under the circumstances, more of an anti-slavery than a pro-slavery triumph. The slavery party tried to cancel the whole of that wise and good law, but was compelled, after years of labour, to accept the repeal of a single clause as the only thing that could be accomplished—a clause that could be spared without impairing materially the value of the enactment.

But I am not intending to dispute any statement of fact contained in your article. I only want to say that, in my judgment, you have presented the sins of our sinning and sinful State in too strong a light; in a light so strong as to discourage effort to bring her to repentance. Pennsylvania is *not* a sinner above all other States, and, viewed from the stand-point from which I regard her, I am happy to say that the aspects and prospects of the cause within her borders were never more encouraging than they are at this moment.

We are regretting just now the demise of the *Daily Register*. For though that paper was by no means all that was needed or all that it ought to have been, it still did good in its brief day and generation, and its discontinuance is a public loss. Mr. Birney was a man of talent and ability, and, compared with his cotemporaries of the Philadelphia press, a good editor. Why he did not succeed is a question in regard to which there are divers opinions. He was not one of those men of whom it is sometimes said, they "mean well, but haven't good luck," for, in some respects, no man in the world had ever better "luck" than he. He came to Philadelphia without money and with but few friends. He was known to some to be a man of good capacity; and when he signified, as he did, his desire to establish a liberal and independent daily paper, quite a number of persons, before unknown to him, came forward and put several thousands of dollars at his service for the purpose. The paper was started, and, although its chief supporters were disappointed in its tone on the subject of slavery, they continued to give it their aid; and when it was likely to go down for want of funds, a number of our anti-slavery friends came forward and subscribed liberally towards its maintenance. But all would not do. The income from its circulation and advertisements was not equal to its expenses, and it was at last, as a matter of necessity, discontinued. Perhaps, if Mr. Birney had had a competent business man associated with him in the management of the concern, the enterprise would not have failed. Other papers have succeeded without having any more funds, friends or public favour to start with than the *Register*.

There is a sort of quadrangular contest now going on in the Second Congressional District of this city, on which the people are looking with some interest. There are four candidates in the field for the seat now occupied by Joseph R. Chandler. There is Hamilton, the Democratic nominee; Tyson, the regular Whig candidate; Gossler, the candidate of the Nativists and Know-Nothings; and Mr. Chandler himself, who is running as an Independent and Anti-Know-Nothing Whig. The probabilities are now that Mr. Chandler will be elected, and the general hope among our sort of people is that he will be. For he behaved handsomely, last session, on the Nebraska question, and his position now in regard to the Know-Nothings is such as to entitle him to the sympathies of all liberal-minded men. Mr. Chandler is a Catholic, and as such is proscribed. This is an outrage. Proscription on account of religious opinion is a species of despotism that ought everywhere to be resisted. It will find no countenance from pure Abolitionists, and, as a proper rebuke to it, I, for one, should like to see Mr. Chandler reëlected.

Yours "occasionally," O. P. C.

From An Occasional Correspondent.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept., 24, 1854.

MESSRS. EDITORS: You have, recently, rebuked, in very severe langange, the pro-slavery character and position of Pennsylvania. She has, indeed, in time past, been *very* "guilty concerning her brother," *very* unfaithful to the duties of true patriotism, and is not now doing such works of repentance as the world has a right to demand of her. Yet she is giving some indications of an improving moral condition, which should not be overlooked, and which might, perhaps, if well considered, temper the severity of your denunciations against her. Though a Democratic State, she has resisted the powerful influence of the pro-slavery portion of the Democratic party, and steadily refused to repeal her statute which gives freedom to every slave brought by his master upon her soil. She has ceased for a while, at least—may we not hope, forever—to recapture fugitive slaves. A few notorious kidnappers, of various grades of official and social rank, are ready, perhaps eager, for this infamous work and its paltry wages, but no man brings them employment. The violation of the Missouri Compromise, by the passage of the Nebraska Bill, has so influenced the current of popular feeling, even in the city of Philadelphia, that Southern pursuers of fugitives slaves would find it not so easy a thing as it has been to execute here the slave law of 1850. And Pennsylvania is preparing to administer, at her approaching election, a rebuke of that national treachery, which will be felt. Let us be hopeful of good beginnings, though they are small.

Last week, the General Convention of Universalists was held, in this city. Unlike many ecclesiastical bodies, which, from time to time, hold their sessions here, these clergymen and laymen acknowledged that the great sin and curse of the American nation and the American church was an object of sufficient importance for their consideration. The subject was introduced into the Convention by a resolution, reported by the Business Committee, which reviewed the opposition of the Convention to the evil and sin of American slavery, and denounced the violation of the Missouri Compromise by Congress, in the passage of the Nebraska bill. It elicited an animated debate, in which several clergymen participated. Rev. Mr. Flanders, of Baltimore, deprecated the introduction of the subject of slavery into the Convention. He believed that its agitation would injure the anti-slavery cause in the South, and also hinder the extension of the doctrines of the Universalist church, by the prejudices which it would excite among some now favourable to their doctrines. He assured the Convention that any action it might take with reference to slavery would produce no more effect than spitting against the wind, but it might prevent Southern pastors from using their personal and professional influence against the system. Rev. Mr. Baker, in reply, said that the efforts of Universalists should not be exclusively devoted to the extension of Universalism in the South; and he declared that, rather than he would consent that the Convention should close its mouth upon the subject of slavery, he would prefer to see every Universalist church in the South tumble to ruins. Rev. Mr. Mason and Rev. Mr. Whittemore deprecated the interference of the Convention. The latter proposed to amend the resolution by omitting the first clause, relating to slavery. The amendment was opposed and rejected, and the original resolution adopted by an almost unanimous vote. During the sittings of the Convention, Rev. Mr. Chapin, of your city, preached a sermon of rare eloquence and power, in which he bore a noble testimony against our national sin. All honour to the churches and the men who dare to rebuke popular sins, and to speak for Humanity, and for God's trampled laws, when Mammon bids them be silent.

The Abolitionists of Pennsylvania are looking forward, with much interest, to their approaching Annual Meeting. There is so much in the present aspects of our cause to excite hope and to strengthen faith, that we anticipate a refreshing season at our annual convocation. O.

P. S.—Since this letter was written, news has been received of the recapture of a supposed fugitive slave, in Harrisburg. He has been brought to this city and lodged in the Moyamensing prison. We shall see whether this disgraceful act will arouse the indignation of our citizens, or whether they will tamely submit to another such outrage.

## Summary.

Cassius M. Clay and other Kentuckian parties have opened a banking house in Cincinnati, and taken the spacious rooms formerly occupied by the City Bank. Clay divides his time equally between agriculture, politics, banking and pork-packing.

The Boston *Traveller* doubts the correctness of the statement that a number of constables have been rejected by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen in that city, for taking part in the Burns rendition case; as some that are appointed were as active in the rendition as some of those rejected.

The Texas *Ledger* has the following bit on the patriarchal institution, which speaks for itself: "All the negroes belonging to Mrs. W. S. Wallace ran away last night. Five hundred dollars is offered for their recovery."—*Tribune.*

ALARMED.—There was considerable excitement among the coloured people, last evening, in consequence of the arrival here of a United States Deputy Marshal. We do not know that there was really any cause for uneasiness, but a little extra vigilance will do no harm.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AT MORRIS—ANOTHER OUTRAGE.—The Chicago *Tribune* states that Senator Douglas, in his vocation of stumping the State, addressed the citizens of Morris, Grundy Co., on Wednesday last. He was listened to quietly, till he had finished, after which *the meeting passed resolutions condemning his course and the Nebraska Bill!*

A POLITICAL PREDICAMENT.—The Hon. Henry J. Raymond is out West drumming up delegates and organizing for the Auburn Convention, to which he is a delegate. As he is pledged to abide by the result of that convention, it will be awkward if some one else is nominated.—*Albany Atlas, Sept.* 23.

MONUMENT TO THE COUNTESS RUMFORD.—The New Hampshire *Statesman* says that a handsome marble monument has been erected in the old Cemetery at Concord, to the memory of this excellent lady, who died in that city, in the year 1852. She was the grand daughter of the Rev. Timothy Walker, the first settled minister of Concord, and as the founder of the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum, and the patroness of other institutions of a like character, her name will be long remembered.

PITHY. — Previous to the late election in Vermont, the Bradford *Inquirer* (Whig), disliking the coalition between the Whigs and Free Soilers, inserted the name of Abel Underwood as a candidate for Lieut. Governor, in place of a Free Soiler; whereupon the following correspondence ensued:

WELLS RIVER, Aug. 16, 1854.

Robert—Take my name out of your ticket.

BRADFORD, Aug. 17, 1854.

Abel—I won't.—*Northampton Courier.*

2. Resolved, That the "black laws" of this State are unconstitutional, inhuman, and barbarous, and it shall be a principal object of this organization to secure their repeal.

The Anti-Nebraska men of Illinois would be the most arrant hypocrites if they did not act upon this Resolution. There is not a statute in the whole code of slavery more abhorrent than these "black laws"; and their repeal would be almost as gratifying a triumph as the overthrow of the Nebraska Swindlers. —*Albany Evening Journal.*

FEGITIVE SLAVE ARRESTED. — Harvey, the fugitive slave whose arrest was attempted near Cumminsville, a few weeks since, but who succeeded, for the time, in escaping, was, day before yesterday, captured at a house in Goshen, about ten miles from this city, brought to this city and lodged in the County jail. An investigation in the case was had before Commissioner Pendery, yesterday afternoon, and the slave remanded into the custody of his master. The underground railroad must be out of repair.—*Cin. Com. Sept.* 22.

THE PULPIT AND THE THEATRE.—Rev. Edward N. Kirk, now of Boston, preached on Sundays the 10th and 17th against theatricals in general and the new theatre in that city in particular.

Among the recent visitors to view this structure was the venerable Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., who many years ago delivered a famous discourse on the occasion of converting the old Tremont theatre into a church. His sensations must have been singular, if he recalled his eloquent congratulations over what he then supposed the final overthrow of the stage.—*Post.*

MONUMENT TO DOWNING, THE LANDSCAPE GARDENER.—At yesterday's session of the American Pomological Society, the President submitted the report of a committee, appointed at the session of 1852, to consider the subject of erecting a suitable monument to the memory of the late A. J. Downing, from which it appeared that a fund of $1,600 had been subscribed for that purpose, from gentlemen in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Rochester, Newburg, Buffalo and other places. It is the design to erect the monument in the public grounds at Washington, which Mr. Downing did so much to adorn.—*Boston Transcript, Sept.* 16.

SALE OF SLAVES. — On Monday last, being County Court day, some half dozen slaves were sold in this city, and it will be seen from the following figures that they brought good prices.

| | |
|---|---|
| One man aged 20 years, 4 months time | $1,237 |
| One girl, 7 or 8 years old, cash | 552 |
| One boy, 4 or 5, 4 months | 331 |
| One woman, about 18, cash | 900 |
| One girl, about 11, cash | 413 |
| One man, about 21, time | 1,205 |
| One woman, 25 years old, time | 900 |

—*Lexington Express, 5th.*

These prices (says the Albany Evening *Journal*) demonstrated the truth of a remark in the St. Louis *Intelligencer* of the 15th, viz.:

"Slaves are as much property to their owners as cows, and much more valuable."

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW COMING BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT AGAIN — THE BOOTH CASE.—We understand that the Attorney-General of the United States is preparing to carry this case before the Supreme Court of the United States. Booth, it will be recollected, was prosecuted for rescuing fugitive slaves from the custody of officers of the general government. He was discharged by a State judge under a writ of *habeas corpus*. A majority of the Supreme Court of the State confirmed that decision. The case is now to be taken before the Supreme Court of the United States for a decision on the question as to the right of a State judiciary to release prisoners, under a writ of *habeas corpus*, who may be in the lawful custody of United States officers; and also to determine the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law.—*Washington Star, Sept.* 20.

MISSOURI ON KANSAS. — The St. Joseph (Missouri) *Gazette* (a Democratic paper, published on the western line of the Missouri), and of course close to the eastern boundary of Kansas, says:

"Emigrants are pouring into Kansas. Many of them, we learn, are from free States. Missourians are wide awake; scores of them have gone and are still going into the territory. Hundreds, we learn, are going in from Arkansas and Tennessee. Most of those who are settling in Kansas from the western free States, such as Indiana and Illinois, are in favour of making Kansas a slave State. Kentucky, too, is turning out her due proportion of emigrants for Kansas, all of whom are in favour of making it a slave State. *We think there is but little doubt that Kansas will be a slave State*, while we believe Nebraska will be free."

KANSAS EMIGRANTS. — Mr. Branscomb, the travelling agent of the Emigrant's Aid Society, arrived in this city, yesterday, direct from Kansas. He reports that the last company of emigrants arrived out well, and that he left them in good health and excellent spirits, and well pleased with their prospects. They would proceed immediately to make their claims and commence operations. Mr. Branscomb hastened back in order to make the necessary arrangements for the next company of emigrants, who will leave with him on the 26th. He left the emigrants in charge of Mr. Pomroy and Dr. Robinson. Mr. Pomroy succeeded in procuring a steam mill at Rochester, which is on its way, and will soon be in operation in Kansas.

Mr. Branscomb informs us that Kansas Leagues are being formed very extensively in many parts of the middle and western States.—*Worcester Spy.*

A FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE — A VILLANOUS CAPTAIN.—On Friday last, information was received in this city, by the Vigilance Committee, that the barque Franklin, Capt. Cook of Portland, was at Holmes Hole, with a fugitive slave on board; that the Captain had made every effort in his power to obtain a U. S. officer to send the slave back. The information was, that, failing in this, the Captain set sail. The Franklin was loaded with hard pine, from Jacksonville, Ga., and bound for Bath, Me. Citizens of Bath were immediately notified of the supposed facts in the case, and preparation was made to secure the freedom of the fugitive, should he arrive at that port. On Tuesday evening the Franklin arrived at Bath, and was immediately boarded by a delegation of the citizens of Bath, when it was ascertained that Capt. Cook remained at Holmes Hole seven days—so great was his anxiety to send the fugitive back. Before he obtained an officer, the slave, understanding what was going on, made his escape from the vessel in one of the boats, neither of which was afterwards heard of by the Franklin. This Capt. Cook should be passed round, while the citizens of Bath should be praised for their promptness and patriotism.—*Bost. Commonwealth.*

### MARRIED.

BRACE—NEILL.—In Belfast, Ireland, on Monday, Aug. 21, at the meeting house of the First Presbyterian Congregation, by Rev. Henry Montgomery, LL.D., Charles Loring Brace, Esq, of New York, and Letitia, second daughter of Robert Neill, Esq., Albion-place, Belfast.

### DIED.

FARNHAM.—In Santa Cruz, California, of spinal disease, Aug. 9, Edward Hallock, youngest son of the late Thomas J. Farnham, aged 9 years and 6 months.

ROSS.—In this city, on Fifth day, the 21st inst., Sarah Ross, wife of Samuel Ross.

SMITHS.—August 13 F. Douglass, aged four months, and 27 days; August 27, Peter Williams, aged two years and five months; Sept. 19, Anna Gertrude, aged four years, six months, and 12 days; children of Malvina and Dr. Jas. McCune Smith.

WAINWRIGHT.—On the 21st inst. in this city, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, Provisional Bishop of the Diocese of New York, in the sixty-second year of his age.

### Philadelphia Market.

FLOUR AND MEAL.—Flour is still dull. Shipping brands are still held at $8 25 per bbl. for standard brands, and $9 a $9 25 for extra. Rye Flour is scarce. Fresh ground Pennsylvania Corn Meal is selling at $4.

GRAIN.—Wheat is in limited request, and very dull. Sales of new red at 175 a 176 cents. Sales of prime white at 180 a 184 cents. Rye continues scarce. Corn is in fair request at 85 a 86 cents for yellow afloat. Oats are scarce. Sales of prime Delaware at 55 cents.

CATTLE MARKET.—The market was well supplied during the past week with Beef Cattle; the offerings amounting to over 2,000 head, all of which were sold in this market, with the exception of 800 head for New York, at prices ranging from $7 to $9 per hundred pounds. Fresh Cows sold at $35 and $40. Feeders brought from $12 to $20, according to quality. There was a good supply of Sheep and Lambs, and prices ranged from $3 to $4 50 a head; also, a large supply of Hogs, at the old price, $5 50 to $6 50.

## Special Notices.

☞MICHIGAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The Anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Adrian, commencing on the 14th of October. It will continue two or three days. Further announcements will be made hereafter.

☞Will be commenced October First, LIFE ILLUSTRATED—A New First-Class FAMILY NEWSPAPER, devoted to News, Literature, Science and the Arts; to Entertainment, Improvement and Progress. Published WEEKLY, at Two Dollars a Year, by FOWLERS and WELLS, No. 308 Broadway, N. Y.

PROSPECTUS.

It is our intention to furnish a Newspaper which, bound to no party, sect or theory, embracing every human interest, and furnishing food for all the faculties of the mind, shall merit and command a world-wide circulation and influence; encouraging whatever has a tendency to promote the moral, intellectual and physical development of man, and to ameliorate the condition of the people, whether found in Schools, Books, Machinery, Practical Science, or Industrial Organizations; inciting in all classes a *spirit of hope, manliness and self-reliance*, and pointing out all available means of profit, economy and comfort.

LITERATURE—Original Essays, Historical, Biographical and Descriptive Sketches of Travel and Adventure, Poetry, Painting, Music and Sculpture, from the pens of our best writers.

SCIENCE, in all departments, will be explored, and all new discoveries laid before our readers in a popular form. The ARTS, particularly in the departments of Manufactures, will receive our attention, and no invention or improved process will escape our notice.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE, in which so large a portion of our people are engaged, will demand at our hands special consideration. We shall endeavour to elevate still more the standard of MECHANICAL INDUSTRY, and to develop and bring to light the latent talent and skill of our intelligent and worthy artisans.

PHYSIOLOGY and the LAWS of LIFE, in their application to physical development and the promotion of health, will have a prominent place in our columns.

EDUCATION, in its broadest sense, will be encouraged, and, aided by contributors, engaged in teaching in college, school and shop, we shall try to render the pursuit of knowledge easy and attractive. New Books will be noticed, and critically reviewed.

IN GENERAL NEWS, we shall be prompt, authentic and full, giving a carefully prepared summary of passing events, both foreign and domestic, and recording all signs of progress in every department of human life.

THE MARKETS will be reported, and such general, commercial and financial information given as the interests of our readers demand.

THE FAMILY CIRCLE.—We shall make our paper a welcome and valued visitor at every fireside. The CHILDREN will find, in each number, a snug corner set apart for their amusement and instruction.

Kind reader, an outline of our plan is before you. Do you like it? If so, we shall be happy to receive your subscription and influence in behalf of our new enterprise.

Possessing superior facilities for doing so, we shall rest satisfied with nothing short of making LIFE ILLUSTRATED one of the *most popular* and

BEST FAMILY NEWSPAPERS IN THE WORLD

TERMS—$2 a year in advance. Three copies, $5.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## A SLAVE-AUCTION IN RICHMOND, VA.

[William Chambers's "Things as they are in America":
Chambers's Journal for September.]

RICHMOND is known as the principal market for the supply of slaves for the South—a circumstance understood to originate in the fact that Virginia, as a matter of husbandry, breeds negro labourers for the express purpose of sale. Having heard that such was the case, I was interested in knowing by what means and at what prices slaves are offered to purchasers. Without introductions of any kind, I was thrown on my own resources in acquiring this information. Fortunately, however, there was no impediment to encounter in the research. The exposure of ordinary goods in a store is not more open to the public than are the sales of slaves in Richmond. By consulting the local newspapers, I learned that the sales take place by auction every morning in the offices of certain brokers, who, as I understood by the terms of their advertisements, purchased or received slaves for sale on commission.

Where the street was in which the brokers conducted their business, I did not know; but the discovery was easily made. Rambling down the main street in the city, I found that the subject of my search was a narrow and short thoroughfare, turning off to the left, and terminating in a similar cross thoroughfare. Both streets, lined with brick-houses, were dull and silent. There was not a person to whom I could put a question. Looking about, I observed the office of a commission-agent, and into it I stepped. Conceive the idea of a large shop with two windows, and a door between; no shelving or counters inside; the interior a spacious, dismal apartment, not well swept; the only furniture a desk at one of the windows, and a bench at one side of the shop, three feet high, with two steps to it from the floor. I say, conceive the idea of this dismal-looking place, with nobody in it but three negro children, who, as I entered, were playing at auctioning each other. An intensely black little negro, of four or five years of age, was standing on the bench, or block, as it is called, with an equally black girl, about a year younger, by his side, whom he was pretending to sell by bids to another black child, who was rolling about the floor.

My appearance did not interrupt the merriment. The little auctioneer continued his mimic play, and appeared to enjoy the joke of selling the girl, who stood demurely by his side.

"Fifty dolla for de gal—fifty dolla—fifty dolla—I sell dis here fine gal for fifty dolla," was uttered with extraordinary volubility by the woolly-headed urchin, accompanied with appropriate gestures, in imitation, doubtless, of the scenes he had seen enacted daily in the spot. I spoke a few words to the little creatures, but was scarcely understood; and the fun went on as if I had not been present: so I left them, happy in rehearsing what was likely soon to be their own fate.

At another office of a similar character, on the opposite side of the street, I was more successful. Here, on inquiry, I was respectfully informed by a person in attendance, that the sale would take place the following morning at half-past nine o'clock.

Next day I set out accordingly, after breakfast, for the scene of operations, in which there was now a little more life. Two or three persons were lounging about, smoking cigars; and, looking along the street, I observed that three red flags were projected from the doors of those offices in which sales were to occur. On each flag was pinned a piece of paper, notifying the articles to be sold. The number of lots was not great. On the first was the following announcement: "Will be sold this morning, at half-past nine o'clock, a Man and a Boy."

It was already the appointed hour; but as no company had assembled, I entered and took a seat by the fire. The office, provided with a few deal-forms and chairs, a desk at one of the windows, and a block accessible by a few steps, was tenantless, save by a gentleman who was arranging papers at the desk, and to whom I had addressed myself on the previous evening. Minute after minute passed, and still nobody entered. There was clearly no hurry in going to business. I felt almost like an intruder, and had formed the resolution of departing, in order to look into the other offices, when the person referred to left his desk, and came and seated himself opposite to me at the fire.

"You are an Englishman," said he, looking me steadily in the face; "do you want to purchase?"

"Yes," I replied, "I am an Englishman; but I do not intend to purchase. I am travelling about for information, and I shall feel obliged by your letting me know the prices at which negro servants are sold."

"I will do so with much pleasure," was the answer; "do you mean field-hands or house-servants?"

"All kinds," I replied; "I wish to get all the information I can."

With much politeness, the gentleman stepped to his desk, and began to draw up a note of prices. This, however, seemed to require careful consideration; and while the note was preparing, a lanky person, in a wide-awake hat, and chewing tobacco, entered, and took the chair just vacated. He had scarcely seated himself, when, on looking towards the door, I observed the subjects of sale—the man and boy indicated by the paper on the red flag—enter together, and quietly walk to a form at the back of the shop, whence, as the day was chilly, they edged themselves towards the fire, in the corner where I was seated. I was now between the two parties—the white man on the right, and the old and young negro on the left—and I waited to see what would take place.

The sight of the negroes at once attracted the attention of Wide-awake. Chewing with vigour, he kept keenly eyeing the pair, as if to see what they were good for. Under this searching gaze, the man and boy were a little abashed, but said nothing. Their appearance had little of the repulsiveness we are apt to associate with the idea of slaves. They were dressed in a gray woolen coat, pants, and waistcoat, coloured cotton neck-cloths, clean shirts, coarse woollen stockings, and stout shoes. The man wore a black hat; the boy was bareheaded. Moved by a sudden impulse, Wide-awake left his seat, and, rounding the back of my chair, began to grasp at the man's arms, as if to feel their muscular capacity. He then examined his hands and fingers; and, last of all, told him to open his mouth and shew his teeth, which he did in a submissive manner. Having finished these examinations, Wide-awake resumed his seat, and chewed on in silence as before.

I thought it was but fair that I should have my turn of investigation, and accordingly asked the elder negro what was his age. He said he did not know. I next inquired how old the boy was. He said he was seven years of age. On asking the man if the boy was his son, he said he was not—he was his cousin. I was going into other particulars, when the office-keeper approached, and handed me the note he had been preparing; at the same time making the observation that the market was dull at present, and that there never could be a more favourable opportunity of buying. I thanked him for the trouble which he had taken; and now submit a copy of his price-current:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "Best Men, 18 to 25 years old, | 1200 to 1300 | dollars. |
| Fair do. do. do. | 950 to 1050 | " |
| Boys, 5 feet, | 859 to 950 | " |
| Do., 4 feet 8 inches, | 700 to 800 | " |
| Do., 4 feet 5 inches, | 500 to 600 | " |
| Do., 4 feet, | 375 to 450 | " |
| Young Women, | 800 to 1000 | " |
| Girls, 5 feet, | 750 to 850 | " |
| Do., 4 feet 9 inches, | 700 to 750 | " |
| Do., 4 feet, | 350 to 452 | " |

(Signed)

Richmond, Virginia."

Leaving this document for future consideration, I pass on to a history of the day's proceedings. It was now ten minutes to ten o'clock, and Wide-awake and I being alike tired of waiting, we went off in quest of sales further up the street. Passing the second office, in which also nobody was to be seen, we were more fortunate at the third. Here, according to the announcement on the paper stuck to the flag, there were to be sold, "A woman and three children; a young woman, three men, a middle-aged woman, and a little boy.' Already a crowd had met, composed, I should think, of persons mostly from the cotton plantations of the South. A few were seated near a fire on the right-hand side, and others stood round an iron stove in the middle of the apartment. The whole place had a dilapidated appearance. From a back-window, there was a view into a ruinous courtyard; beyond which, in a hollow, accessible by a side-lane, stood a shabby brick-house, on which the word *Jail* was inscribed in large black letters on a white ground. I imagined it to be a depôt for the reception of negroes.

On my arrival, and while making these preliminary observations, the lots for sale had not made their appearance. In about five minutes afterwards, they were ushered in, one after the other, under the charge of a mulatto, who seemed to act as principal assistant. I saw no whips, chains, or any other engine of force. Nor did such appear to be required. All the lots took their seats on two long forms near the stove; no one shewed any sign of resistance; nor did any one utter a word. Their manner was that of perfect humility and resignation.

As soon as all were seated, there was a general examination of their respective merits, by feeling their arms, looking into their mouths, and investigating the quality of their hands and fingers—this last being evidently an important particular. Yet there was no abrupt rudeness in making these examinations—no coarse or domineering language was employed. The three negro men were dressed in the usual manner—in gray woollen clothing. The woman, with three children, excited my peculiar attention. She was neatly attired, with a coloured handkerchief bound round her head, and wore a white apron over her gown. Her children were all girls, one of them a baby at the breast, three months old, and the others two and three years of age respectively, rigged out with clean pinafores. There was not a tear or an emotion visible in the whole party. Everything seemed to be considered as a matter of course; and the change of owners was possibly looked forward to with as much indifference as ordinary hired servants anticipate a removal from one employer to another.

While intending purchasers were proceeding with personal examinations of the several lots, I took the liberty of putting a few questions to the mother of the children. The following was our conversation:

"Are you a married woman?"

"Yes, sir."

"How many children have you had?"

"Seven."

"Where is your husband?"

"In Madison County."

"When did you part from him?"

"On Wednesday—two days ago."

"Were you sorry to part from him?"

"Yes, sir," she replied with a deep sigh; "my heart was a'most broke."

"Why is your master selling you?"

"I don't know—he wants money to buy some land—suppose he sells me for that."

There might not be a word of truth in these answers, for I had no means of testing their correctness; but the woman seemed to speak unreservedly, and I am inclined to think that she said nothing but what, if necessary, could be substantiated. I spoke, also, to the young woman who was seated near her. She, like the others, was perfectly black, and appeared stout and healthy, of which some of the persons present assured themselves by feeling her arms and ankles, looking into her mouth, and causing her to stand up. She told me she had several brothers and sisters, but did not know where they were. She said she was a house-servant, and would be glad to be bought by a good master—looking at me, as if I should not be unacceptable.

I have said that there was an entire absence of emotion in the party of men, women, and children, thus seated preparartory to being sold. This does not correspond with the ordinary accounts of slave-sales, which are represented as tearful and harrowing. My belief is, that none of the parties felt deeply on the subject, or at least that any distress they experienced was but momentary—soon passed away, and was forgotten. One of my reasons for this opinion rest on a trifling incident which occurred. While waiting for the commencement of the sale, one of the gentlemen present amused himself with a pointer-dog, which, at command, stood on its hind-legs, and took pieces of bread from his pocket. These tricks greatly entertained the row of negroes, old and young; and the poor woman, whose heart three minutes before was almost broken, now laughed as heartily as any one.

"Sale is going to commence—this way, gentlemen," cried a man at the door to a number of loungers outside; and all having assembled, the mulatto assistant led the woman and her children to the block, which he helped her to mount. There she stood with her infant at the breast, and one of her girls at each side. The auctioneer, a handsome, gentlemanly personage, took his place, with one foot on an old deal-chair with a broken back, and the other raised on the somewhat more elevated block. It was a striking scene.

"Well, gentlemen," began the salesman, "here is a capital woman and her three children, all in good health—what do you say for them? Give me an offer. (Nobody speaks.) I put up the whole lot at 850 dollars—850 dollars—850 dollars (speaking very fast)—850 dollars. Will no one advance upon that? A very extraordinary bargain, gentlemen. A fine healthy baby. Hold it up. (Mulatto goes up the first step of the block; takes the baby from the woman's breast, and holds it aloft with one hand, so as to show that it was a veritable sucking-baby.) That will do. A woman, still young, and three children, all for 850 dollars. An advance, if you please, gentlemen. (A voice bids 860.) Thank you, sir—860; any one bids more? (A second voice says. 870; and so on the bidding goes as far as 890 dollars, when it stops.) That won't do, gentlemen. I cannot take such a low price. (After a pause, addressing the mulatto): She may go down." Down from the block the woman and her children were therefore conducted by the assistant, and, as if nothing had occurred, they calmly resumed their seats by the stove.

The next lot brought forward was one of the men. The mulatto beckoning to him with his hand, requested him to come behind a canvas screen, of two leaves, which was standining near the back-window. The man placidly rose, and having been placed behind the screen, was ordered to take off his clothes, which he did without a word or look of remonstrance. About a dozen gentlemen crowded to the spot while the poor fellow was stripping himself, and as soon as he stood on the floor, bare from top to toe, a most rigorous scrutiny of his person was instituted. The clear black skin, back and front, was viewed all over for sores from disease; and there was no part of his body left unexamined. The man was told to open and shut his hands, asked if he could pick cotton, and every tooth in his head was scrupulously looked at. The investigation being at an end, he was ordered to dress himself; and having done so, was requested to walk to the block.

The ceremony of offering him for competition was gone through as before, but no one would bid. The other two men, after undergoing similar examinations behind the screen, were also put up, but with the same result. Nobody would bid for them, and they were all sent back to their seats. It seemed as if the company had conspired not to buy anything that day. Probably some imperfections had been detected in the personal qualities of the negroes. Be this as it may, the auctioneer, perhaps a little out of temper from his want of success, walked off to his desk, and the affair was so far at an end.

"This way, gentlemen—this way!" was heard from a voice outside, and the company immediately hived off to the second establishment. At this office there was a young woman, and also a man, for sale. The woman was put up first at 500 dollars; and possessed some recommendable qualities, the bidding for her was run as high as 710 dollars, at which she was knocked down to a purchaser. The man, after the customary examination behind a screen, was put up at 700 dollars; but a small imperfection having been observed in his person, no one would bid for him; and he was ordered down.

"This way, gentlemen—this way, down the street, if you please!" was now shouted by a person in the employment of the first firm, to whose office all very willingly adjourned—one migratory company, it will be perceived, serving all the slave-auctions in the place. Mingling in the crowd, I went to see what should be the fate of the man and boy, with whom I had already had some communication.

There the pair, the two cousins, sat by the fire, just where I had left them an hour before. The boy was put up first.

"Come along, my man—jump up; there's a good boy!" said one of the partners, a bulky and respectable looking person, with a gold chain and bunch of seals; at the same time getting on the block. With alacrity the little fellow came forward, and, mounting the steps, stood by his side. The forms in front were filled by the company; and as I seated myself, I found that my old companion, Wide-awake, was close at hand, still chewing and spitting at a great rate.

"Now, gentlemen," said the auctioneer, putting his hand on the shoulders of the boy, "here is a very fine boy, seven years of age, warranted sound—what do you say for him? I put him up at 500 dollars—500 dollars (speaking quick, his right hand raised up, and coming down on the palm of his left)—500 dollars. Any one say more than 500 dollars? (560 is bid.) 560 dollars. Nonsense! Just look at him. See how high he is. (He draws the lot in front of him, and shews that the little fellow's head come up to his breast.) You see he is a fine, tall, healthy boy. Look at his hands."

Several step forward, and cause the boy to open and shut his hands—the flexibility of the small fingers, black on the one side, and whittish on the other, being well looked to. The hands, and also the mouth, having given satisfaction, an advance is made to 570, then to 580 dollars.

"Gentlemen, that is a very poor price for a boy of this size (Addressing the lot): Go down, my boy, and shew them how you can run."

The boy, seemingly happy to do as he was bid, went down from the block, and ran smartly across the floor several times; the eyes of every one in the room followed him.

"Now, that will do. Get up again. (Boy mounts the block, the steps being rather deep for his short legs; but the auctioneer kindly lent him a hand.) Come, gentlemen, you see this is a first-rate lot. (590—600—610—620—630 dollars are bid.) I will sell him for 630 dollars. (Right hand coming down on left.) Last call 630 dollars once—630 dollars twice. (A pause; hand sinks.) Gone!"

The boy having descended, the man was desired to come forward; and after the usual scrutiny behind a screen, he took his place on the block.

"Well, now, gentlemen," said the auctioneer, "here is a right prime lot. Look at this man; strong, healthy, able-bodied; could not be a better hand for field-work. He can drive a wagon, or anything. What do you say for him? I offer the man at the low price of 800 dollars—he is well worth 1,200 dollars. Come, make an advance, if you please. 800 dollars said for the man (a bid), thank you; 810 dollars—810 dollars—810 dollars (several bids)—820—830—850—860—going at 860—going. Gentlemen, this is far below his value. A strong-boned man, fit for any kind of heavy work. Just look at him. (Addressing the lot): Walk down. (Lot dismounts, and walks from one side of the shop to the other. When about to reascend the block, a gentleman, who is smoking a cigar, examines his mouth and his fingers. Lot resumes his place.) Pray, gentlemen, be quick (continues the auctioneer); I must sell him, and 860 dollars are only bid for the man—860 dollars. (A fresh run of bids to 945 dollars.) 945 dollars once, 945 dollars twice (looking slowly round, to see if all were done), 945 dollars, going—going (hand drops)—gone!"

During this remarkable scene, I sat at the middle of the front form with my note-book in my hand, in order to obtain a full view of the transaction. So strange was the spectacle, that I could hardly dispel the notion that it was all a kind of dream; and now I look back upon the affair as by far the most curious I ever witnessed. The more intelligent Virginians will sympathise in my feelings on the occasion. I had never until now seen human beings sold; the thing was quite new. Two men are standing on an elevated bench, one white and the other black. The white man is auctioning the black man. What a contrast in look and relative position! The white is a most respectable-looking person; so far as dress is concerned, he might pass for a clergyman or church-warden. There he stands—can I believe my eyes?—in the might of an Anglo-Saxon, sawing the air with his hand, as if addressing a missionary or any other philanthropic meeting from a platform. Surely that gentlemanly personage cannot imagine that he is engaged in any mortal sin! Beside him is a man with a black skin, and clothed in rough garments. His looks are downcast and submissive. He is being sold, just like a horse at Tattersall's, or a picture at Christie and Manson's—I must be under some illusion. That dark object, whom I have been always taught to consider as a man, is not a man. True, he may be called a man in advertisements, and by the mouth of auctioneers. But it is only a figure of speech—a term of convenience. He is a man in one sense, and not in another. He is a kind of man—stands upright on two legs, has hands to work, wears clothes, can cook his food (a point not reached by monkeys), has the command of speech, and, in a way, can think and act like a rational creature—can even be taught to read. But nature has thought fit to give him a black skin, and that tells very badly against him. Perhaps, also, there is something wrong with his craniological development. Being, at all events, so much of a man—genus *homo*—is it quite fair to master him, and sell him, exactly as suits your convenience—you being, from a variety of fortunate circumstances, his superior? All this passed through my mind as I sat on the front form in the saleroom of Messrs. ———, while one of the members of that well-known firm was engaged in pursuing, by the laws of Virginia, his legitimate calling.

Such were a forenoon's experiences in the slave-market of Richmond. Everything is described precisely as it occurred, without passion or prejudice. It would not have been difficult to be sentimental on a subject which appeals so strongly to the feelings; but I have preferred telling the simple truth. In a subsequent chapter, I shall endeavour to offer some general views of slavery in its social and political relations. W. C.

## SINGULAR PLANT.

[From the American Botanical Register].

AN old friend sends us the following highly interesting letter, giving an account of a most remarkable vegetable phenomenon. We hasten to lay the letter before our readers, reserving our remarks for a future number:

"During a recent shooting excursion along the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, I met with a plant of so singular a character, that I need offer no excuse for furnishing a description of it to you—a description less technical than is generally furnished in botanical works, but which may enable you to write one more scientific.

"My business, or rather sport, had led me to a swampy island, some three hundred yards from the shore, when picking my way through a dense growth of brushwood, gun in hand, much more intent upon the ornithology of the place than its botanical peculiarities, I met with a plant which at once arrested my attention. Its height was not less than four feet, and the main stem was an inch or more in diameter, from which lateral branches extended in every direction. I was first attracted by the fluttering of a small bird which appeared to have become entangled in the branches, and was in vain endeavouring to escape. A closer examination revealed to my astonished gaze a most singular production. The bush was covered with buds and flowers in greater or less degrees of maturity. The flowers were shaped something like a tulip—and when expanded, were not less than six inches in circumference, and of a bright scarlet colour, doffed with yellow, and with an odour like musk. On the outside of each leaf of the bower, but separate from it, was a flat, hard thorn—for I know not how to describe it better—making six to each flower. These thorns had the singular property of being able to contract upon the flower being touched in the centre, and to remain in that position so long as any motion continued. It appeared that the bird spoken of had just alighted, and was instantly clasped in the deadly embrace of this singular flower. I looked at it with a sensation little short of awe; as held in a firm grasp the bird struggled violently for at least fifteen minutes—when its efforts gradually relaxed, and upon examination I found it dead. I can only account for its having died so soon by the supposition of some poisonous quality in the plant, confirmed by finding the interior of the flower covered by a viscid substance, which had a most decided effect whenever it touched my skin. The bird seemed to have been attracted by minute insects which thronged the interior of other flowers on the same plant.

"I found on the same shrub three other birds, in various stages of decomposition, and on the ground the bones of at least a dozen, being of various species, but all small. I am inclined to think that a bird something larger than the one whose destruction I witnessed, would have been able to break the bars of its prison, if not overpowered by some poisonous or narcotic influence.

"From the appearance of the plant, it would seem to bloom during several months, as it had buds, flowers, and seed nearly matured. Many of the flowers were barren. Whether animal food had anything to do with the perfect developement of the seed, I will not undertake to say.

"Before leaving the neighbourhood, I made some inquiry in regard to the plant, and was informed that it was well-known as the 'Bird Catcher,' though rather rare, and so far as I could learn, only blooming at intervals. With this you will receive the whole shrub, carefully packed, and a flower pressed. If they arrive safely, you will be enabled to give your readers a better description than I can."

[We annex a description of the plant received, which came to hand in good order.—*Ed. Register.*]

"Herba perennis; cum succo lacteo; Folia integra, plerumque opposita (aliquando verticillata, sed raro dispersa) cordata; Caulis gracilis, ramosa diffuse, glauca; Flores solitariæ in axillis. Corolla, odorata, (ostrina cum maculis purpurlis) campanulata, sex petala; calyx sexsepalus, cornutus.—Rarissima, florens a Julio ad Septembrem."

[A subscriber at Reading, Pa., who sends us the above curious and rather incredible account, says: "I wish to call the attention of your readers who live in the vicinity of the Chesspeake, to the fact, that the plant has not yet been introduced into any of our botanical gardens, and that a living specimen would be much prized, and no doubt command a high price. As this is about the period of the year when the plant flowers, it should now be more easily found than at any other period."—*Ed. Sat. Eve. Post.*]

## SONNET.....For The Standard.

In your own mind may falter o'er a page
Which it hath filled in some inspired hour,
When gifted with a brief supernal power.
What wonder that the soaring bard, or sage,
Whose soul doth loftiest peaks of thought engage,
Should seem obscure? for spirit-skies oft lower,
Till falls the brain-cloud in a clearing shower
That does the absence of the mist presage.
Clear with your new-found aids old printed tomes,
Emend the Shakespeare from the mar of type—
All mere ink-fogs from the fresh vellum wipe—
But if ye cannot follow to their homes
The Tennysons and Brownings of to-day,
How hope to trace a buried empire's sway?

A. P. C.

## MRS. JANE LANGTON, THE LAST OF JOHNSON'S CORRESPONDENTS.

THE following obituary notice from a London journal of "The last survivor of all the persons mentioned in Boswell's delightful biography" will be read with interest. It is but seldom, we fancy, that one survives one's correspondents for the tolerably long term of seventy years, as "Miss Jenny" survived the great moralist and "great man," whose memory the English still revere, notwithstanding his pretty numerous faults. Virtues he had, too, of a high cast, but he was rather feared than loved, for all his admirers and satellites, from the highest to the lowest, stood a little in awe of him. The truth is, he was more to be admired and respected than loved; for he was arrogant and dictatorial, and domineering and captious to a degree that would not now be tolerated, and his political opinions were ultra tory. He hated the Americans, he said. It was not, though, because they were Americans, but it was because he hated everything that did not go it blind for church and king:

"On the 12th inst., at Richmond, Mrs. Jane Langton, last surviving daughter of Bennet Langton, Esq., of Langton, Lincolnshire, and of the Countess Dowager of Rothes."

Mrs. Jane Langton was the god-daughter of Samuel Johnson. Her birth is mentioned in Boswell, under the year 1777. "Langton," says Johnson, writing to Boswell, "has another wench. Thrale is in hopes of a young brewer." How strange soever it may seem, Mrs. Jane Langton, who died at Richmond on the 12th inst., was the correspondent of Samuel Johnson, who died seventy years since. In "Boswell" may be seen a beautiful letter from Johnson to his little god-daughter, acknowledging a pretty letter he had just received from her. It begins, "My dear Miss Jenny;" is full of good advice for a girl of her years, conveyed in words exquisitely simple for the great lexicographer; and written withal, as Boswell tells us, in a large round hand, nearly resembling printed characters, that she might have the satisfaction of reading it herself. "When you are a little older (it is thus the great man concludes his letter to Miss Jenny), I hope you will be very diligent in learning arithmetic, and above all, that through your whole life you will carefully say your prayers and read your Bible." Simple words these, but from how great a man! Miss Jenny remembered the injunction of her illustrious godfather, and was proud of showing the letter which the great moralist had sent her—framed and glazed in her favourite apartment at Richmond. If Queeny Thrale, afterwards Baroness Keith, is no longer living, Mrs. Jane Langton (my dear Miss Jenny) was the last survivor of all the persons mentioned in Boswell's delightful biography.—*Washington Globe, Sept.* 15.

## BEAU BRUMMEL.

OUR London correspondent gives us the following account of Beau Brummel: The story of Brummel, had the people been so astute as to seize its leading points, is amusing as a romance. The audacious insolence with which he trampled down the haughtiest of the high nobility of England was splendid—because successful. His grandfather kept a small confectionary shop in Bury street, St. James's, London, and let lodgings. The first Lord Liverpool, then almost obscure, lodged in his house, took his son as a secretary, got him office under Lord North, and allowed him to feather his nest so well that, on his death, in 1794, there was sixty-five thousand pounds to divide among two sons and a daughter. George, the second, was educated at Eton, and dressed so well, while early in his teens, that the prefix of "Beau" was then put to his name. In Oxford he affected to be exclusive, and on his father's death, in 1794, at the age of sixteen, was presented with a cornetcy in the tenth Hussars, by the Prince of Wales, colonel of that regiment. Henceforth he was the Prince's constant companion. In two years he was a captain, and then—threw up his commission, and set up as a gentleman at large. This was before he was twenty-one, and the only reason assigned was that the regiment was ordered to Manchester, which he considered decidedly vulgar.

He started as an independent gentleman, on thirty thousand pounds—a small sum for carrying on such a profession—ridiculously small for one whose wardrobe cost him eight thousand pounds a year, and who entertained fashion, and even royalty, at his table. No man dressed better; simply, but richly, with elegance and taste. In this he eclipsed his much-puffed successor, D'Orsay, whose showy attire made him look like what he was—a tailor's walking advertisement. The Prince of Wales, whose wardrobe has cost one hundred thousand pounds, was Brummel's greatest rival, until corpulence, which he hated, destroyed all his reasonable pretensions to the throne of dandyism. Simplicity, of the most studied kind, was Brummel's great system.

He mixed and visited in the first circles, for he was young, handsome, satirical, and the fashion. He rode well, and was a good shot, but affected to despise Melton and the pheasants, on the plea that they were too troublesome. His great reform was in the neckcloth, which then was a sort of white muslin padding. He introduced the moderate use of starch, which gave the necessary stiffness, and dispensed with the pad. He was curious in his tie: if the cravat did not glide into it at the first touch, he would throw it aside and try another. His valet, who was met with a heap of these rumpled neckcloths on his arms, solemnly said, "These are our failures."

The Prince of Wales quarrelled with him, after nearly twenty years' intimacy. The story runs that, in the Prince's drawing-room, he said "Wales, ring the bell," which was done; and when the servant came in, the Prince said, "Order Mr. Brummel's carriage." The beau denied this, and attributed his quarrel to something he had said about Mrs. Fitzherbert's stoutness. This was about 1811. Brummel continued king of fashion, though he had quarrelled with the Prince. But he took to gaming. In 1814, he lost all he had, and ten thousand pounds more; raised what money he could, and retreated to Calais; attributed his bad luck to his having parted with "a lucky sixpence," which, he maintained, Rothschild must have got possession of; was supported in his exile by his brother and sister; was so liberal, when his remittances came, that the beggars called him "*Le Roi de Calais*"; was made British Consul at Caen, on the mediation of Wellington with George IV.; was removed, without compensation, when that consulate was abolished; lost his senses; spent his last hours in a hospital for lunatic mendicants; and died March 2, 1840.

There, in a nutshell, is the true history of Brummel.—*New York Sunday Times.*

## BOSTON IN 1774.

THE following description of Boston just before the breaking out of the American Revolution is extracted from the sixth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States, just published. Mr. Bancroft remarks that the King had set himself, and his Ministry, and Parliament, and all Great Britain to subdue to his will one stubborn little town on the sterile coast of Massachusetts, and proceeds as follows:

"The old world had not its parallel. It counted about sixteen thousand inhabitants of European origin all of whom learned to read and write.—Good public schools were the foundation of its political system; and Benjamin Franklin, one of their pupils, in his youth appreniced to the art which makes knowledge the common property of mankind, has gone forth from them to stand before the nations as the representative of the modern plebian class.

"As its schools were for all its children, so the great body of its male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age, when assembled in a hall which Faneuil, of Huguenot ancestry, had built for them, was the source of all municipal authority. In the meeting of the town its taxes were voted, its affairs discussed and settled; its agents and public servants annually elected by ballot; and abstract political principles freely debated. A small property qualification was attached to the right of suffrage, but did not exclude enough to change the character of the institution. There had never existed a considerable municipality approaching so nearly to a pure democracy; and, for so populous a place, it was undoubtedly the most orderly and best governed in the world.

"Its ecclesiastical polity was in like manner republican. The great mass were congregationalists; each church was an assembly formed by voluntary agreement; self-constituted, self-supported and independent. They were clear that no person or church had power over another church. There was not a Roman Catholic altar in the place, the usages of "baptists" were looked upon as worn out superstitions, fit only for the ignorant. But the people were not merely the fiercest enemies of "Popery and Slavery;" they were Protestants even against Protestantism; and, though the English Church was tolerated, Boston kept up its exasperation against prelacy. Its Ministers were still its prophets and its guides; its pulpit, in which, now that Mayhew was no more, Cooper was admired above all others for eloquence and patriotism, by weekly appeals inflamed alike the fervour of piety and of liberty. In the Boston *Gazette* it enjoyed a free press, which gave currency to its conclusions on the natural right of man to self-government.

Its citizens were inquisitive; seeking to know the cause of things, and to search for the reason of existing institutions in the laws of nature. Yet they controlled their speculative turn by practical judgment; exhibiting the seeming contradiction of susceptibility to enthusiasm, and calculating shrewdness. They were fond of gain, and adventurous, penetrating and keen in their pursuit of it; yet their avidity was tempered by a well-considered and continuing liberality. Nearly every man was struggling to make his own way in the world and his own fortune; and yet individually and as a body they were publicly spirited. In the seventeenth century the community had been distracted by those who were thought to pursue the great truth of justification by faith to Antinomian absurdities; the philosophy of the eighteenth century had not been without an influence on theological opinion; and though the larger number still acknowledged the fixedness of the divine decrees, and the resistless certainty from all eternity of election and of reprobation, there were not wanting, even among the clergy, some who had modified the sternness of the ancient doctrine by making the self-direction of the active powers of man with freedom of inquiry and private judgment the central idea of a protest against Calvanism. Still more were they boldly speculative on questions respecting their constitution. Every house was a school of politics; every man was a little statesman, discussed the affairs of the world, studied more or less the laws of his own land, and was sure of his ability to ascertain and to make good his rights. The ministers, whose prayers, being from no book, were coloured with the hue of the times; the merchants, cramped in their enterprise by legal restrictions; the mechanics, who, by their skill in ship-building, bore away the palm from all other nations, and by their numbers were rulers of the town; all alike, clergy and laity, in the pulpit or closet, on the wharf or in the counting-room, at their ship-yards or in their social gatherings, reasoned upon Government. They had not acquired estates by a feudal tenure, nor had lived under feudal institutions; and as the true descendants of the Puritans of England, they had not much more of superstitious veneration for monarchy than for priestcraft. Such was their power of analysis that they almost unconsciously developed the theory of an independent representative commonwealth; and such their instinctive capacity for organization, that they had actually seen a Convention of the people of the Province start into life at their bidding. While the earth was still wrapped in gloom, they welcomed the daybreak of popular freedom, and like the young eagle in his upward soarings, looked undazzled into the beams of the morning."

A HOAX.—That unfortunate Washington *Union*, says the Albany *Evening Journal*, has been making another awful blunder. It has contrived to get hoaxed by Benjamin Franklin, dead and buried these sixty years. The joke is altogether too good to be lost.

It seems that the *Union*, in casting about for excuses for the Greytown outrage, had hit upon that of "British cruelties to American citizens." Accordingly it dived into the depths of history, and ransacked old documents for bloody instances—as it turns out, with more zeal than discretion.

Now, it happens that Franklin, who was almost as fond of fun as of philosophy, published in 1782, in order to hoax the British, a sham copy of the *Boston Chronicle*, which he filled to overflowing with imaginary atrocities by the Indians. The dose was pretty strong, and the British rather hesitated to believe it. Not so the Washington *Union*. Coming across this make-believe newspaper somewhere or other, it takes it to be genuine, and swallows every word, Indians, scalps and all, for gospel truth. Best joke of all, it actually published it whole last Saturday morning, with two columns of appropriate comments on this "horrible record" of massacres, scalping, burning, &c., &c., which it considers a full justification for the sacking of Greytown!

We subjoin the commencement of the "horrid tale":

*Extract of a letter from Captain Gerrish, of the New England Militia, dated*

"ALBANY, March 7th.

"The peltry taken in the expedition will, you see, amount to a good deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave us pleasure, but we were struck with horror to find among the packages eight large ones containing scalps of our unfortunate country folks, taken in the three last years by the Seneca Indians, from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Col. Haldimund, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him transferred to England. They were accompanied by the following curious letter to that gentleman:

"'TIOGA, January 3, 1782.

"'*May it please your Excellency:* At the request of the Seneca chiefs, I herewith send to your excellency, under care of James Boyd, eight packages of scalps, cured, dried, hooped, and painted with all the Indian triumphal marks, of which the following is invoice and explanation:

"'No. 1 Containing 43 scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes; these are stretched on black hoops, 4 inch diameter, the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot, to denote their being killed with bullets; also, 62 of farmers, killed in their houses, the hoops painted red, the skin painted brown, and marked with a hoe, a black circle all around, to denote their being surprised in the night, and a black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

"'No. 2. Containing 98 of farmers killed in their houses; hoops red, figure of a hoe to mark their profession, great white circle and sun, to show that they were surprised in the day time; a little red foot, to show that they stood upon their defence and died fighting for their lives and families.

"'No. 3. Containing 97 of farmers; hoops green, to show that they were killed in the fields; a large white circle, with a little round mark on it for the sun, to show it was in the day time; black bullet mark on some, hatchet on others.

"'No. 4. Containing 102 of farmers, mixed of several of the marks above; only 18 with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments; one of these latter supposed to be an American clergyman, his hand being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by their hair to have been young or middle-aged men, their being but 67 gray heads among them all, which makes the service more essential.

"'No. 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above mentioned, to the number of 122, with a box of birch bark, containing 29 little infants' scalps, of various sizes'."

ALEXANDER DUMAS has just received from an admirer in Russia the most precious talisman known in Europe—a fragment of a hanged man's rope. This admirer was formerly, according to his own story, the most unlucky being alive; but no sooner was he in possession of the rope than his uncle died, and left him a large fortune, by which he was enabled to marry a lady with whom he was in love, and who has just given him an heiress, the image of herself. Learning that Dumas was still poor, spite of his fourteen hours of labour a day, he determined to cut him off a piece of his rope and endeavour to reinstate him in the good graces of the blind goddess. The way the Russian himself came into possession of the rope was singular. The father of the lady with whom he was in love was governor of a city, and upon his daughter's imploring him to obtain for her a suicide's rope, he summoned the warden of the political prisons, and acquainted him with the young lady's desire. The warden said that there was certainly a great deal of hanging and suicide going on, but it was usually done with an old cravat or a pocket handkerchief, not in a state to be presented to a lady. Besides, the superstition is explicit—the instrument of suspension must be a rope. The Governor told him to pretend to drop a rope in the way of the prisoners, some one of whom would, doubtless, put the occasion to profit. This direction was followed, and the young lady was soon in possession of an elegant new rope, from which had dangled an enemy of the State. She sent it to her lover, who was soon enabled by it to marry her. The piece sent to Dumas is three inches long. He says he hopes it will have an effect upon the quarter's subscription to the *Mousquataire*, for if it does not he shall throw it into the fire.—*Paris Corr. of N. Y. Times.*

# Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The family of Mr. William Smith O'Brien have received a letter from that gentleman, dated from Van Diemen's Land, when he was preparing to leave the colony for Europe. Mrs. Smith O'Brien and other relatives will meet the liberated exile at Brussels, where it is probable he will reside. Mr. O'Brien accepted his Sovereign's clemency with the best feelings.

——In the list of benefactors of the new "Catholic University" at Dublin, there figures "Mr. James R. Hope Scott, of Abbotsford, North Britain," as the donor of valuable books on ecclesiastical law. Mr. Scott is better known as Mr. Hope, a wealthy Parliamentary counsel, who married the daughter of Mr. Lockhart, of the *Quarterly Review*,, and grand-daughter of Sir Walter Scott, a lady who, like her husband, has become a Roman Catholic. Abbotsford is now one of the chief Romanist houses of call in the kingdom!

—— PROFESSOR SCHELLING.—Science and philosophy have suffered a severe loss by the death (in Switzeland, on 20th ult.) of Frederick William Joseph von Schelling. His name is too well known to require observation. Professor Schelling was born at Lemberg in Wurtemburg, in 1775, and he was therefore in his 79th year. He lived at Berlin with the title Privy-Councillor, honoured and respected for his many good qualities, and admired for his preeminent talents. Humboldt is now almost the only survivor of the great epoch of which Schelling was a brilliant ornament.

——THE "RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT" IN CHINA.—"I have sent my son with my public secretary to Nanking, in order to learn something more positive than we have hitherto gathered, as to the 'religious movement,' at it has been called. The nearer we approach the more we see of the fraud, imposture, and fanaticism. An extraordinary change is taking place in the minds of the missionaries, even the most sanguine. * * * * Instead of seeking after christian truths, they (the rebels) proclaim their 'celestial king' as a portion of the Godhead, profess to have